

# APA ITU REDD?

## *Conflicting Understandings of Stakeholders in a REDD Design Process in Central Sulawesi*

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# Abstract

Drawing on five months of fieldwork in Indonesia, this thesis explores how the global climate-initiative “Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation” (REDD) has been situated and designed at local level in Central Sulawesi. In 2007, the Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg announced that the Norwegian government would give 3 billion NOK on an annual basis to the global climate-initiative, REDD. Norway has stepped up its support to Indonesia on REDD when Indonesia launches its strategy to reduce deforestation and forest degradation. The REDD program was considered to be a pioneering initiative to combat climate change. The idea behind REDD is that developed countries will pay developing ones with tropical forests to conserve their forest to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The idea may sound simple, however implementing the REDD ideology at local levels, indicates that REDD will be dealing with challenges such as weak governance, conflicting interests and violation of human rights.

This thesis is based on a multi-sited fieldwork, where one part was spent at regional level with local NGOs and REDD officials, and the other part in a local community, Rerang, which is located near a large forest area potential to be included as a location for REDD pilot project. The aim of the thesis is to shed light on the various stakeholders in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi. Empirical examples in the thesis illustrate a number of social encounters between agents who are involved in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi, with a focus on local NGOs and local communities. I shall argue that there is a lack of trust among the involved agents, as well as a deficiency of awareness and reflections on their position as I observed it, that REDD officials as well as appointed NGOs failed to communicate with local people in a meaningful way.



## Acknowledgements

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*I dedicate this study to my beautiful and wise Mum, Vivian Kristin Hansen, who has always believed in me and encouraged me to seek out my dreams:*

*“Now it is time to skate, you said  
and we flew straight out of our heads  
I never thought this could happen to me,  
but look at me now, skipping along,  
dancing around like a ballerina!”  
(Motorpsycho 1994)*





## **List of Central Names and Acronyms**

AMAN - Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara: Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (NGO)

CIFOR - Center for International Forestry Research

FPIC - Free Prior and Informed Consent

FPP - Forest Peoples Programme (NGO)

HuMa - Perkumpulan untuk Permbaharuan Hukum Berbasis Masyarakat dan Ekologis: Association for Community Based and Ecological Law Reform (NGO)

KPH - Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan: Unit of Forest Management

LoI - Letter of Intent

NGO - Non-governmental organisation

PKK - Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga: Development of Family Welfare

Pokja REDD - The Official REDD Working Group of Central Sulawesi

REDD - Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation

REDD Working Group - Working Group of NGOs in Central Sulawesi

RFN - Rainforest Foundation Norway (NGO)

Sawit Watch - Indonesian Network against oil palm plantation

Studentgroup - Ida, Harsya, Novia and Sara

UNDRIP - United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNFCCC - United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UN-REDD - REDD Project under United Nation

YMP - Yayasan Merah Putih (NGO)

WALHI - Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia: Friends of the Earth International (NGO)



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

One hot afternoon in May during my fieldwork, I had a conversation with Jonathan; a British Consultant and previous activist-veteran who was now hired by the UN-REDD headquarters in Bangkok to develop communication strategies for the REDD program. While driving along a mountain trail past vegetable gardens in Salua, he said “They were quite nice people, the people of Salua! They had a lot of thoughts concerning their present life and what they wanted for the future.” We had been discussing how REDD should approach the locals when they are going to introduce the project. Salua was mentioned by Bapak Didi, the facilitator of UN-REDD Central Sulawesi to become a REDD pilot project location. Jonathan was pleased with what he had experienced in Salua and he said that he was the first among the UN-REDD officials in Jakarta that had conducted research on a local level, or even communicated with locals in villages. We<sup>1</sup> were heading home from a two-hour visit in the village where Jonathan had done some research. Two activists from a local NGO had joined us for the purpose of knowing this village, along with Nardia, a UN-REDD official from Jakarta, and Pak Didi who arranged this event. Approximately 20 villagers of Salua welcomed us in their traditional clothes when we arrived. Jonathan was handed a traditional hat and belt that he needed to wear during the visit. The village leadership and a few other villagers accompanied us to the traditional *adat*<sup>2</sup> meeting house called “bantaya” where Jonathan took part in a welcoming ritual for special guests before we could climb up the frailty stairs into the room. All of us sat down on the wooden benches, forming a circle. Two women in their finest traditional clothing started serving us a well-prepared meal. While we were eating with a group of villagers, mostly the village leadership, Jonathan asked if he could ask them some questions, while Nardia translated. It was Jonathan who did the presentation of us and also informed about the REDD project, while the activists sat quietly beside Jonathan and Pak Didi took pictures with his brand new Nikon reflex camera. After the meal Pak Didi disappeared from the meeting but came back, just as we were about to leave. Meanwhile, Jonathan started to ask questions while the villagers answered. The questions were such as:

“Have you noticed any changes in the weather?”

“What is your favourite TV-programme?”

“How does it feel when new people are moving into this area?”

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<sup>1</sup> Ida, Harsya and Novia were part of the group to Salua, see page 18

<sup>2</sup> Adat – customary practice

“Are you pleased with the village leadership?”

“How can we help you?”

“Do you want help?”

The Semi-Annual report done by UN-REDD summarises this day: “Indonesia ask for inputs from the indigenous people of Salua, Central Sulawesi, to raise awareness about REDD+ among the societies” (UN-REDD 2011:14). The report illustrates how UN-REDD reflect on their encounter, on how they approached and interacted with the people of Salua. The trip to Salua exemplifies a social meeting between villagers and the REDD project. This will be the main theme for the thesis, which will reveal a number of social encounters between agents who are involved in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi.

## **Research Questions**

In this thesis my aim is to see how an overreaching global idea and initiative like REDD takes shape at a local level through a focus on the region of Central Sulawesi in Indonesia and the UN-REDD program there. The thesis starts with the cultural context in which a REDD pilot project is planned. Indonesia is one of 13 initial pilot countries in the UN-REDD program. Indonesia has planned to implement pilot projects in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. I want to explore the relationships among the involved parties in REDD activities at local level. The thesis is based on a multi-sited fieldwork of five months (six including one month of language course) where one part was spent in the regional capital with REDD officials and local NGOs. The other part was spent in a local community in Rerang which is located in a nearby large forest area and an area where a REDD pilot project will probably be implemented. I will focus on three dimensions: the village, the local NGOs and the social interaction between them.

## **REDD**

An approach to combat global warming that has emerged over the past few years is referred to as REDD, which is an acronym for “Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in development countries”. In 2007, the parties to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change agreed to encourage actors in developed and developing countries to take immediate action to mitigate carbon emissions from the forestry sector (Madeira 2009). The center for international Forestry Research (CIFOR) defines REDD as a mechanism that uses “marked/financial incentives



to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases from deforestation and forest degradation” (Angelsen 2009).

REDD is a policy approach aimed to create the sustainable management of forests and the enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries. In principle, REDD would encourage funding from industrialized nations to support the protection of forests in the developing world, thereby reducing global carbon emissions. It would also provide an opportunity for the industrialized nations to achieve their targets for emission reductions by purchasing offsets from standing forests in the developing world, rather than by making changes with emission reduction within the industry (Schroeder 2010).

REDD+ plus stands for an enhanced form, which also covers the sustainable management of forests, conservation and enhancement of forest carbon stocks. UN-REDD stand for United Nation REDD. UN-REDD, REDD and REDD+ are used interchangeably. In the literature I will in the thesis refer to it mostly as REDD. The REDD project is referred to as a “low hanging fruit”, signifying that it is easy to “reach”. The idea of REDD is called a “win-win” (Stern 2006) scenario since it involves biodiversity conservation, global carbon emission and forest dependent people would all benefit from a market that valued standing forests. The emerging approach to REDD is that tropical forest nations are to be financially compensated for voluntarily keeping their forests intact. To what extent this will occur, remains an open question for the time being.

## **REDD: Indonesia and Norway**

Indonesia’s head of state, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, promised world leaders in 2009 to reduce Indonesia’s greenhouse gas emissions by 26% by 2020, and by 41% with international assistance, without sacrificing economic growth. Norway has stepped up its support to Indonesia on REDD when Indonesia launches its strategy to reduce deforestation and forest degradation. The signing of a Letter of Intent (LoI) between Indonesia and Norway in May 2010 defined and formalized a partnership between them. The aim for Norway is to support Indonesia’s efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and degradation of forest and peatland. Indonesia, on the other hand, agreed to take systematic action to reduce its forest and peat degradation, whereas Norway agreed to support those efforts by making available up to one billion US dollars exclusively on a payment-for-result basis over the next years. It has lead to Indonesia establishing a national taskforce for reducing greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+)

and in May 2011 issued a two year moratorium on new permits for forests conversion (Clarke, M., Mackenzie, C and A. Suntana 2010).

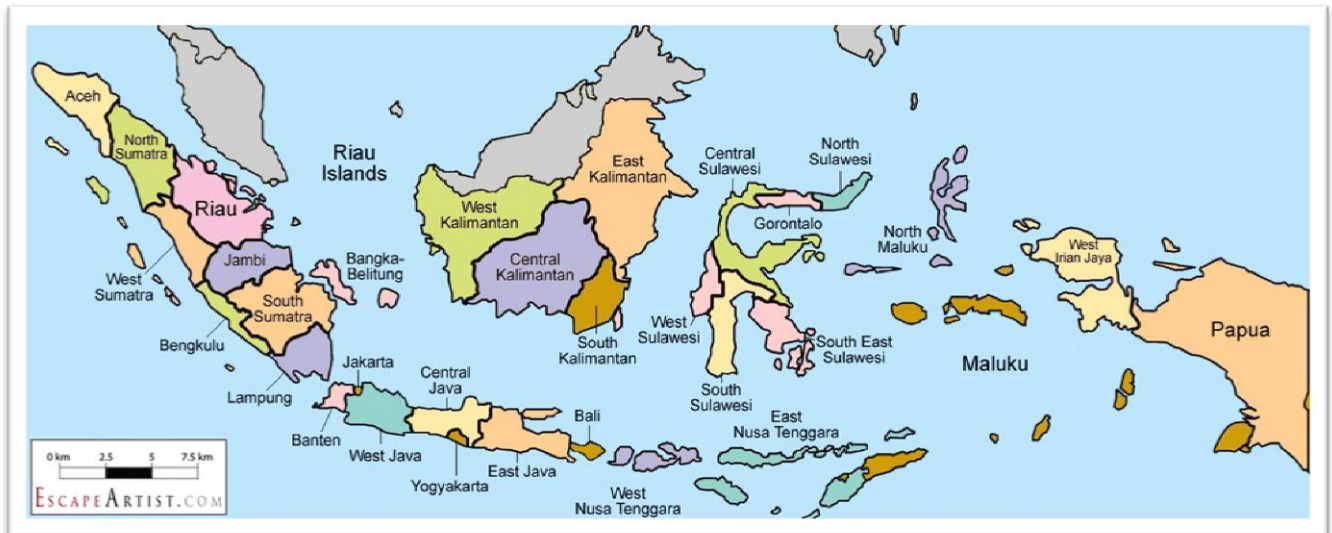
## **Complications with REDD**

A major complication with implementing REDD is that forests are not uninhabited; some estimates suggest that between 350 million (World Resources Institute 2001, in Schroeder 2010) and 1.2 billion (World Wide Fund for Nature 2002, in Schroeder 2010) people live in forests. These forest communities and indigenous people are either economically poor or live outside the reach of global financial and market structures (Okereke and Dooley 2010, in Schroeder 2010). As soon as REDD was embraced as a policy solution by the industrialized world, the indigenous leaders and other members of civil society began to raise concerns about the potential risks REDD might have on indigenous rights and territories. It appeared that what many in the industrialized world saw as being part of the solution to create a market in tradable carbon rights, was for the indigenous people perceived differently. Some stated that REDD will not benefit Indigenous peoples, rather it will mean more violations of their human rights. There were several other concerns, such as whether REDD would provide opportunities for the already wealthy and powerful nations to profit while indigenous people's rights were further violated. Or, was REDD's purpose to let Northern countries be able to avoid reducing their own carbon emissions by buying the rights to carbon in developing countries? I will throughout the thesis discuss the complications with REDD on a local level, reflecting on who will benefit from REDD and how REDD as a local project may make a huge impact on those who live around the forest and who have lived in the area for many generations.

## **Indonesia**

Indonesia is located in south-east Asia between Australia and the Asian mainland, with 13 667 islands spread over a land area of over 2 million km<sup>2</sup>. The Indonesian land stretches from west to east on both sides of the equator and has a population of 225 million including around 500 ethnic groups speaking more than 500 languages (Clarke, et al. 2010). Environmentally, Indonesia is mountainous, with vast forests, abundant wildlife and approximately 400 volcanoes. In Indonesia there are hill farmers, slash and burn farmers, rice farmers, fishermen and people who live by hunting and gathering. Indonesia is rich in minerals, has a growing industry including palm oil plantations, and is a key player in the oil and gas exporter industry. Indonesia is a melting pot of different religions, cultures and peoples with Islam as the biggest religious group (Smedal

1994:448-453). Indonesia's history will be described further throughout the chapters, especially in chapter 2 and 5.



Map of Indonesia<sup>3</sup>

## Forest

Indonesia has the third largest rainforest in the world, covering approximately 60% of the land, and has the third largest emissions of greenhouse gases in the world and this is mostly due to massive forest logging, forest fires and forest clearing. In Indonesia during the period of 1985-1997 the deforestation rate was 1.6 million hectares, from 1997-2000 it increased to 3.8 million hectares and from 2006-2007 it was 2.7 million hectares (Surya 2009).

The province of Central Sulawesi has been selected as an area to be a UN-REDD pilot project. Central Sulawesi consists of nine provinces and one city, with 129 urban villages and 1404 rural villages. The population in 2007 was 2,396,223 inhabitants. The forests of Central Sulawesi Province cover 4.4 million hectares, representing about 65% of the province's total land area. Some 800,000 people live in and around the forest areas and for many generations, making up 33% of the province's population (Hasanuddin 2010).

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.escapeartist.com/Being\\_In\\_Bali/Map\\_Of\\_Bali/](http://www.escapeartist.com/Being_In_Bali/Map_Of_Bali/). [Accessed 22.03.2012]

Indonesia has categorized the forest by function and use and this lays guidelines for how people or companies can use the forest. The Ministry of forestry divides forest into five categories (Clarke, et al. 2010):

- Conservation Areas (Kawasan Konservasi)
- Protected Forest (Hutan Lindung/HL)
- Limited Production Forest (Hutan Produksi Terbatas/HPT)
- Permanent Production Forest (Hutan Produksi Tetap/HP)
- Convertible Forest (Hutan Produksi Konversi/HPK)

## **Field of Study: REDD Readiness in Central Sulawesi**

This section presents some relevant important aspects to understand the REDD process in Central Sulawesi. I will start by describing the context of place where the REDD projects are being located, both as an administrative institution and the potential pilot project locations, as well as the various actors involved in REDD activities. I will present some background information on land rights, an official forest program, definitions of indigenous people, and briefly discuss some of the challenges with the implementation of the REDD program.

It is February in 2011 and I am situated in Palu, the central capital of the province of Central Sulawesi, the bustling yet quiet city of 330 000 inhabitants. Palu sits on the mouth of the Palu River, at the head of a long, narrow bay. Due to its sheltered position between mountain ridges, the climate is usually dry and hot. Palu is where the UN-REDD proposed project has been established, still at an initial phase and at a level of decision-making – “REDD Readiness” as they called it is supposed to last until the end of 2011 and be implemented in 2012. The institution of REDD has since 2010 been located in the white, massive building in the centre of the city which is also the house of the Ministry of Forestry. The REDD institution is actually located in one office, approximately 20-25 m<sup>2</sup> on the second floor. Pak Didi is the facilitator of the UN-REDD program in Central Sulawesi (who joined to Salua, see page 1), and was appointed by the UN-REDD Central Office in Jakarta. Even though he had 12 employees from the Ministry of Forestry who helped him with the work of REDD preparations, Pak Didi’s office was the only “space” with marks and symbols of REDD with posters on the walls with the REDD logo, information papers and pamphlets about REDD. He had a new, robust bicycle standing in his office, because he had plans to arrange a “bicycling day” and then plant trees nearby the seashore in Palu, to create awareness in the local population on climate change. There were some REDD banners around in order to

communicate REDD to the population of Palu. However, as the text on the banners was in English, many people could not understand the message. This, I shall argue, is symptomatic of the approach as I observed it. The REDD officials as well as appointed NGOs failed to communicate with local people in a meaningful way.

I met Pak Didi during my first week in Palu, at the beginning of February. Both of us attended a REDD workshop, arranged by local NGOs. I met him at several other events and had appointments with him during the whole fieldwork period. I acquired a lot of my information about the progress of REDD from the facilitator, since there was no one else who represented REDD in Palu. Representatives from UN-REDD Jakarta occasionally came to Palu to attend workshops or, at one time, two representatives did a three day research trip to improve the communication system in REDD activities (see page 1). Pak Didi was really optimistic about the REDD project coming to Central Sulawesi. It was a new opportunity for the society economically and ecologically, he claimed. He argued that everyone in the local government was positive toward REDD and wanted the project to be implemented well. The local branch of the NGO called AMAN (umbrella organization for indigenous people in Indonesian) was given the responsibility to inform the local people about REDD. However, during conversations with governmental employers, it became clear that not many of them had any knowledge about REDD. Information about REDD was not distributed to the majority of the people in Central Sulawesi. REDD was a discourse among a small elite in Palu, among people in the Forest Ministry, local NGOs and the Governor. During the fieldwork there was an election of Governor of the province of Central Sulawesi. Interestingly, during the election campaign amongst the governor candidates, REDD was not mentioned in public speeches or political debate. Meanwhile, they talked about improving education systems, the economy and the infrastructure. However, later in the fieldwork, Pak Didi appeared less enthusiastic. The blue color under his eyes got more clear and darker. The last time we met, he had started to smoke. I have heard he had got a lot of criticism during this period; activists and academics who participated in REDD activities had questioned the quality of his work. They argued the facilitator did not handle his role well, since he became anonymous during meetings and events. The story about Pak Didi provides some indication on how REDD as a global idea is being established at regional level. As we will see in the thesis, there is a potential risk that unsolved property rights may create tension if some villagers are given more economical benefits than others.

## **Pokja - REDD Working Group**

The UN-REDD office has established a set of four REDD Working-groups (Pokja) that will have different tasks connected to their work with UN-REDD:

- 1) Regional Strategy
- 2) Institutional and Methodology or Measurement, Reporting and Verification (MRV)
- 3) Demonstration Activities
- 4) Free Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC), Empowerment and Development of Regional and Community Capacity. This group is supposed to be members only from NGOs.

The REDD Working Groups consist of representatives of government agencies, an association of forestry companies, academics, NGOs, and indigenous people, local organizations and communities. The composition of the REDD Working Groups is dominated by government agencies (76 persons). The representatives of communities and community organizations (only 4 persons) have a limited capacity to reach out to communities to disseminate REDD information and provide education on REDD. The REDD Working Group members have reported problems of capacity, coordination, and funding, and have complained about the difficulty of obtaining funds to implement the pre-determined programs (Forest Peoples Programme 2011).

## **Selection of REDD Pilot Project**

In October 2010, the UN-REDD program selected the Central Sulawesi province as the focus of its Demonstration Activities to prepare for the implementation of REDD. Five areas have been nominated as REDD program sites, namely: the Dampelas region in the Donggala district, the Tinombo region in the Parigi Moutong district, forests in the Lore Lindu National Park in the Poso district, and forests in Tojo Una-una and Toli-toli. However, the five pilot areas were supposed to be selected by the end of the year of 2010 and before my arrival to Indonesia, but were decided after my return to Norway in June 2011. The facilitator of REDD Central Sulawesi emphasises that the selection of a REDD location is decided on the following criteria:

- The local government must agree to the REDD program
- High carbon density
- Areas with forest challenges will be a priority
- Areas with a high number of inhabitants will be a priority
- Areas where people are dependent on labor and products from the forest.
- The bigger accessibility to the forest, the higher priority.

## **The KPH System**

The Facilitator of UN-REDD in Central Sulawesi introduced to the KPH (*Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan* – Unit of Forest Management) which is likely to be included as a UN-REDD project in the region of Tinombo and Dampelas. KPH is a governmental strategy and system of forest management adopted from the KPH model in Java. KPH started in 2009 in Central Sulawesi and it is hoped that it can be developed in each province all over Indonesia. I met the first appointed head of KPH for the area in Dampelas and Tinombo who is a member in Pokja MRV. The plan is to map a forest area in the district as a KPH area. It is supposed to be 100 000 hectares and consists of three categories of Forest: Protected Forest, Production Forest and Limited Production Forest. Before this, the designated area was a forest state area designated for logging state companies, but the logging activities were closed in 2005, because people in the area protested against it. The forest area of Dampelas lies right next to the village Rerang where I conducted my fieldwork. I will address the relationship between Rerang and KPH in chapter 3 and 5.

## **Bad Marks for Governance**

The Central Sulawesi province is facing serious problems of good governance. Justice, transparency and efficiency remain under developed. The provincial government has yet to show a commitment to respecting human rights, reflected in the low public budget allocation for education, health and poverty alleviation programs. Poor governance in Central Sulawesi is relevant to the unjust development practices and pressures on natural resources in the province, which lead to an imbalance in control of land and forest, with capital owners dominating forest tenure and control of resources. The government pursues revenue and local economic growth by issuing as many permits as possible without considering sustainability or the rights of communities. The licensing process has become an arena where profit-making and corruption are rampant. Poor law enforcement and a lack of monitoring encourages logging and plantation companies to violate the law, such as logging outside concession areas and expanding plantations in excess of the area allowed by the permit (Forest Peoples Programme 2011). In chapter 5 I will return to this issue; concentrating on Indonesia's previous development projects and illustrate some historical circumstances which can shed light on the platform REDD will integrate into.

## **Free Prior and Informed Consent**

The principle of Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) has its basis in the United Nations human rights conventions. FPIC is the principle that a community has the right to give or withhold its consent to proposed projects that may affect the lands they customarily own, occupy or otherwise use (Forest Peoples Programme 2011). The rights of communities in relation to REDD cover the rights of communities to FPIC, to freedom of expression, and to assembly and association, is a subject I will discuss further in chapter 4. The right to (own) land is one of the basic rights which is often violated and ignored. Without a new policy on the recognition and safeguard of land rights and resolution of conflicts over land/forest tenure and utilization, the REDD program in Central Sulawesi is likely to lead to more problems and rejections on the part of indigenous people and local communities.

## **Recognition of Land Rights**

Article 33 of *Undang Undang Dasar 1945*, the Fundamental Law of Indonesia, states that the earth and water and their natural resources are controlled by the state and should be utilized for human prosperity (Amri 2005:153). A new Forestry Law was issued in 1999 that created opportunities concerning delegation of forest administration, and gave some recognition of customary forest. The law differentiates between “state forests”; on land that bear no ownership rights, “rights forest”; on land which bear ownership rights and “customary *adat* forest”; on land under traditional jurisdictions. Further measures on “customary law communities” were supposed to be defined in subsidiary legislation, including a regulation on customary forests, but these were still not in place in 2007, so no rights had been claimed. Land outside the national forest estate is under the authority of the National Land Agency. Less than 40% of all land holdings in Indonesia are formally titled with the rest being held under informal or customary tenures. The Indonesian government has dismantled customary institutions and pursued policies designed to integrate ‘isolated communities’ into the national mainstream through resettlement, education and through banning of traditional religions. Additionally, the customary right is limited under the Forestry Law and Basic Agrarian Law, and treats customary law as a weak right and must give way to development projects. Meanwhile, the Forestry Law prioritizes the exploitation rights to concessionaires for logging and plantation, and defines ‘customary forest’ (*hutan adat*) as areas of State forest (*kawasan hutan Negara*), which is defined as ‘forest with no rights attached’. Consequently, there are no clear regulations for the recognition of ‘customary forest’. While other tenures have offered to communities are short-term leaseholds that are difficult to secure and maintain (Forest Peoples



Programme). Since the 1980s, there has been a National Program for land registration (PRONA) supported by the World Bank which particularly assists poor and rural communities to obtain land certificates. However, only private titling is possible under the National Land Law and this does not help indigenous communities that want a collective title for their lands, and lands inside the forest estate cannot be titled. In 2001, the National Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) was instructed to produce a national land policy framework to address how these legal and regulatory changes would be made. By 2007, the framework was not finished and a powerful interest group within the government and business were reportedly frustrating their work (Rosser 2004, in Clarke, et al. 2010).

### **People, Property and Conflict in Central Sulawesi**

The reality today is that the indigenous and local communities of Central Sulawesi living in and around forest areas are in conflict with companies holding forest logging concessions, mining concessions and business use permits. These licenses are routinely issued by government agencies without the knowledge or consent of the communities that will be affected by the licenses. The same lack of information and consent concerning development licenses holds true for the government agency managing conservation areas. Unjust development policies and laws which do not recognize, respect and protect the rights of indigenous and local communities is one of the main causes of conflicts. In the ongoing dispute between the indigenous people of Wana Taa and Kahumamaon and the timber company PT. Palopo Timber, the government argued that the 70 000 hectare logging concession was given based on the State's right to control lands, and that a number of laws show that this forest area belongs to the state. According to Forest Peoples Programme (2011), the government refers to the Central Sulawesi Governor's Decree No. 592.2/41117/Ro.Huk, issued on August 31<sup>st</sup> 1992, concerning the unjust Guidelines of Land Conflict Resolution, which implicitly states that there is no indigenous land in Central Sulawesi, and thus the rights and authority over the earth and water are transferred to the State (Forest Peoples Programme 2011). This policy allows and legalizes dozens of forest concessions, oil palm plantations and mining companies to take over and convert forest areas and lands totaling more than 3.7 million hectares in Central Sulawesi. Many of the concession holders are acting against the law. For instance the oil palm company PT. KLS (Kurnia Luwuk Sejati), converted areas within the Wildlife Reserve in Banggai district into plantations. The regional autonomy policy has encouraged the local government to issue mining concessions that today cover over 850 000 hectares. The number of conflicts over lands and forests related to extraction of natural resources is increasing and will

surely lead to higher rates of deforestation in Central Sulawesi, which stood at 62 000 hectares per year in 2005 (Forest Peoples Programme 2011).

## **Indigenous People**

There is no uniform definition of what constitutes indigenous people, especially because any “tribe” can self-identify as indigenous (United Nations 2004, in Schroeder 2010). In Indonesia the term ‘indigenous people’ is commonly used to refer to those who self-identify as ‘*masyarakat adat*’. It is applied more generally to people whose rights to land are defined by custom rather than by law. Rough estimates suggest that between 11 and 60 million rural Indonesians fall into the category (Colchester 2010). This may create challenges in REDD activities, as I will examine in chapter 4, regarding the issue of definition, who is proper Indigenous or not? Due to Indonesia’s various ethnicities, this is mainly why it is challenging with categorizing in Indonesia. Most of all it can create conflicts if some ethnicities are given additional benefits over others.

Anthropological characterizations of indigenous environmental knowledge have demonstrated that it is a complex knowledge system deeply rooted to a place and based on a unique set of experiences (Conklin 1957; Howell 1984; Dove 1985; Brush and Stabinsky; Doolittle 2010). Indigenous knowledge is a plurality of ways of knowing the environment and explores the importance of understanding how knowledge production is tied to place and culture. Doolittle (2010) illustrates the dominant rhetorical strategy used by Indigenous leaders seeking participation in climate change negotiation. Whether they are from Arizona or the Philippines, from the desert or the rainforest, indigenous leaders spoke of the earth as a living being that humans must respect. A sense of belonging and special guardianship of the earth is a common rhetorical strategy, as ‘ecologically noble savage’ (Redford 1991). It has become a common set of values, knowledge and identities system as simplified as a unifying principle – “indigenous worldview”. Doolittle emphasizes that this shared discourse highlights how the special relationship between indigenous people and nature has been a crucial tool for indigenous people when seeking representation and agreements in various international environmental conventions. However, there has been a shift in the rhetorical strategy during climate change negotiation. It builds not on the added value of indigenous environmental knowledge to the management of natural resources, but on the demand for redistributive justice of land dispossession and exploitation (Doolittle 2010:290).

The REDD Program's guidelines state that the government should consult and work together with indigenous people through their chosen representatives. The forces of deforestation involve and impact many different actors: for instance international agencies and NGOs, national governments, timber consumers and local communities. It affects sectors such as forestry, agriculture, energy and transport, all operating at different levels of governance, in terms of the local, regional, national and international. The principles of the REDD program guide state that all REDD activities, especially those potentially impacting indigenous peoples, should follow a human rights-based approach and refer to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). This implies that the UN-REDD program in Indonesia should seek to assist in the resolution of ongoing and potential disputes with indigenous people, for example by supporting a policy for conflict resolution and restoration of the rights of indigenous and local communities, by supporting the revision and revoking of problematic policies or by supporting policies that can recognize, respect and protect the rights of indigenous and local communities to land and forest (UN-REDD 2011).

## **AMAN**

AMAN (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara*) is a NGO that represents the indigenous people. AMAN has 528 indigenous community members in Central Sulawesi and, theoretically, it wields much authority. There are criteria for an indigenous community to become an AMAN member which defines indigenous communities as: a group of people who have lived in their ancestral land for generations, have sovereignty over the land and natural resources, and govern their community by customary law and institutions which sustain the continuity of their livelihood. Based on this definition, AMAN estimates the total population of Indigenous peoples in Indonesia to be 50-70 million people. On this basis, AMAN has been given significant influences in REDD planning in Central Sulawesi and AMAN will be central in the implementation of FPIC as you will see in chapter 4. The head of AMAN Central Sulawesi and his wife are members of the AMAN central office in Jakarta. Both of them are members of Pokja REDD Group 2 and 4.

## **REDD Monitoring Working Group**

My first meeting with the NGOs in Palu was during a three-day workshop organized by a local NGO. The workshop took place in early February, shortly after my arrival in Central Sulawesi. The Rainforest Foundation Norway told me about the workshop that had gathered local NGOs mainly from Central Sulawesi who wanted to engage in REDD activities. The purpose of the workshop was

to offer suggestions of strategies on how NGOs can monitor the REDD process and that the process of REDD is conducted in an honest and fair manner. A group was formed consisting mainly of members from local NGOs who had given the name of the group ‘REDD Monitoring Working Group’. I will refer to it as ‘REDD Working Group’. The idea behind the REDD Working Group is to meet regularly and for it to be responsible for monitoring the progress of REDD. Several members of REDD Working Group are also members of Pokja REDD. The participants at the workshop were members from Pokja REDD, REDD Working Group and other activists. Consequently, I found myself right in the heart of the NGO sphere and in contact with much of the REDD network in Sulawesi as well as some representatives from the head office in Palu and Jakarta. Several of the participants remained my informants during the fieldwork and the workshop was my meeting with the NGOs and provided the first impression of the REDD discourse in Indonesia.

## **Analytical Perspectives**

In the search for a relevant theoretical framework, I found it useful to utilize several analytical frames in order to address the social encounters in a REDD context in Central Sulawesi. I draw on the following analytical perspectives: Most central for the thesis is Norman Long’s *social interface* (1989) that I suggest can be seen together with Anna Tsing’s *friction* (2005) and the concept of *agency* (Ahearn 2001:112, in Dove 2008:226). Although they are different, together they help me to present the complex intersection of socioeconomic and cultural processes.

## **Social Interface**

The encounter between REDD and local communities can be described as *social interface* defined by Norman Long, as «*a critical point of intersection or linkage between different social systems, fields or levels of social order where structural discontinuities, based upon difference of normative value and social interest, are most likely to be found*» (1989:1-2). *Social interface* implies a face-to-face encounter between individuals or units that have different interests and different resources. Long argues that the importance of this concept, which can generate a dynamic and eruptive character of the interaction, and further shows how goal, interest and relationship may be reshaped as a result of their interaction. The perspective has an emphasis on power relations, as well as how these interactions are affected by other actors and institutions, which lay beyond the interface

situations itself (Long 1989:2). Chapter 4 will use the model of *social interface* as a way to examine the encounters between local NGOs and villagers.

## **Friction**

Anna Tsing challenged in *Friction* (2005) the widespread perception of globalization as flows, and develops "friction" as a metaphor for the different contradictory and social interactions that make up our world. She defines *friction* as "the awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of inter-connection across difference" (2005:4). Tsing brings up the importance of an appreciation of global connections concerning the issues of Indonesia's rainforest. She argues that the Indonesian forests were not destroyed because of local need; their products were taken for the world. She illustrates the makeshift links across distance and difference that shape global futures. The book shows how emergent cultural forms, including forest destruction and environmental advocacy, are persistent but unpredictable effects of global encounters across differences (2005:2-3). I will use *friction* as a perspective of globalization and a way of understanding the processes of global-local movements, which REDD is an example of. Furthermore, I will connect the term "friction of collaboration" (2005:249) with my empirical examples, as a way of describing the differences among those who are involved in REDD activities. It indicates how close collaboration can have different stories, interpretation and facts of what happened. The term is based on a meeting in Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan with activists, journalists and locals as participants who ended up with an environmentalist success, where a village movement enlisted the help of provincial and national activists to win rights for community forest management. Tsing found out several years later that everyone involved had a different story about what happened. Everyone spoke differently of the nature of the Meratus forest and of the role of humans in shaping its history. Tsing asks: How is it, then, were they able to work with each other, despite their divergent understandings of the agency of the forest and its people? (2005:256). "Friction of collaboration" does not necessarily indicate that it will lead to tension or conflict between the two parts. Despite their divergent understandings of a meeting or collaboration, it can lead to progression. I will connect "friction of collaboration" with my observations relating to the different parties in REDD activities. By using the term it can illustrate how the stakeholders hold complex and various understandings of REDD, or how local communities and NGOs have different ideas of their collaboration.

## Agency

In this thesis I shall use the concept of agency as a model of understanding social practices. Agency can be understood as the capacity of human beings to affect their own life chances and those of others and to play a role in the formation of the social realities in which they participate. As Ortner argues the concept of agency helps us to focus on the relationship between agency and power, as agency and social power in a relatively strong sense are very closely linked (Ortner 2006:137). I will define *agency* as: “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn 2001:112, in Dove 1998:226). I find the concept of *agency* useful with my empirical data since it can illuminate the capacity of acting among the different stakeholders in REDD activities, both between individuals and between groups. *Agency* helps to emphasize their ability to prescribe behaviour and to participate in and/or set their own rules related to the interaction of REDD, for instance how much influence or rights do local communities or local NGOs have in a negotiation and implementation of the REDD program? Individuals or persons or subjects are always embedded in webs of relations (Geertz 1973), and through meetings and gatherings it is interesting to examine in the light of the concept of agency how humans or groups interact and socialize. I will use *agency* as a perspective for the whole thesis, regarding the various stakeholders’ position in REDD activities. Agency will be a synonym for rights, position, representation and power.

## Methodology

I have carried out what is commonly called multi-sited fieldwork, which means that the researcher moves between sites and groups of differently situated individuals (West 2006; Marcus 1997:121). My fieldwork is multi-sited for two reasons: first the research has been in both rural and urban areas. Secondly, I have tried to approach different areas which I believed had a connection to REDD. I have also used various methodical strategies depending on where I was, who I was interacting with and if I worked individually or in the student team. I have decided not to anonymise the NGOs or REDD officials who took part in the REDD project since they are public actors, both in the media and through reports. I have been careful with description of individuals in the village, but I have used the real name of the village, as I find this important to the documentation of the fieldwork.

The fieldwork started in Palu at the beginning of February 2011 and lasted to the end of June. My fieldwork moved between places in which I conducted research in Central Sulawesi – Palu (center of REDD and offices for NGOs) and Rerang (the village). The fieldwork occurred in two parts: one

part I worked in a student team for two months in Palu. Part two contains the individual fieldwork of three months in the village. The student-team visited Palu each month for a couple of days to meet and collect and exchange data.

In Palu we worked as a team, that meant we visited informants and did interviews together or in pairs. At first we lived together in a student flat, and after getting to know the NGOs, we started living in NGO offices for short periods as well as living in the student flat. In Palu we collected data by mapping who was involved and who cooperated with who, who knew what about REDD. We spent time in governmental offices, NGOs' offices, homes, in cars, on motorbikes, in fields, gardens and in forest. We attended workshops, field trips, meetings or social events among the NGOs and REDD officials. I lived together with one NGO (Bone Bula) which I focused on.

In the village I participated as much as possible in daily life; in weddings, funerals, birth marking and house ceremonies. I followed my host father and host mother to work. I joined other families in fields and gardens. Through participant observation I gained entry into the daily life and could make comprehensive observations of the relationships that I gained access to. During my fieldwork I have also done structured and unstructured interviews. But mostly I have focused on conversations, and spent a lot of time in different settings and activities with people, but I did the interviews in settings where it was not possible to participate. In April everyone in the student group met with my supervisor Signe Howell in Palu, accompanied by two professors from the University of Gadjah Mada, with a five-day workshop with presentations and guidance for us in the student-team.

I will focus on the everyday life experience and understanding of different actors. This will help to enable me to recognize the "multiple realities" and the diverse social practices of various actors (Long 1992). I studied various "fields" as a key to understand the process of REDD, as well as understanding the interaction between actors. It was fruitful to not study just one "group", for instance the local NGO. That could have minimized the wider understanding or probably give another understanding of the situation in Central Sulawesi. REDD does not just involve one group of people, but is meant to involve several spheres of individuals and groups. Perez and Persoon (2008) stress the importance of studying the non-local as a key for understanding. They stress that "anthropologists have focused too much on local people themselves, without paying sufficient attention to the non-local people and institutions, missionaries, traders and companies that greatly affect the lives and thereby also the future of forest dwelling people"(2008:291). In order to understand what actually goes on, one need also to study outside agencies that develop these

programs, their visions and their actions that are aimed at turning their visions of other groups are also crucial. In research concerning sustainable development and environmental issues, I suggest it is important to have a future-oriented perspective (Persoon and Perez 2008) both in the field and in the writing process. Anthropologists often lack a perspective on the future in their studies on global sustainability debate, where the emphasis is on the long-term future. Anthropology data about how people think and act concerning the future can tell us something about the present and future. To study the present can be done through examining different aspects of human behavior and actions, motivations and how people make decisions, which can express ideas of the future (2008:287-288).

### **Reflections on Doing Collective Research**

To be part of the research group with Ida, Novia and Harsya was different from doing individual research and partly affected the data I gathered. Since I was new in the Indonesian language a gap was created between the research group and me. This had advantages and disadvantages. For instance the conversations and interviews in the beginning of the fieldwork were in advanced language that made it difficult for me to take part in. Ida, Novia and Harsya helped me with the translations and explained what I did not understand. My contributions in the group were to observe the interactions and learn the social and cultural codes. Since a lot was new to me, I could point out views that the others in the student-team did not see or reflect on. Being part of the student-team made it possible for me to learn by observing how Ida, Novia and Harsya were facing the informants, for instance how they approached, communicated and behaved with the activist. I learned that it was important when we meet the activists for the first time, to give a presentation of ourselves in the student-team. We never started with direct questions to the activist, but needed a “soft” approach with “small-talk” and then moved towards the theme we wished to talk about. Additionally, I learned the language to the best of my ability. Roy Ellen (1984) states that trying to learn the informant's language is socially valued. It means giving up one's cultural otherness. That way I was perceived as more credible, and gained entry to observations that I might not have had sufficient knowledge to do otherwise.



## **Entry: The First Day in the Village**

“There is always a good mood among homecoming Indonesians, and so it was this morning as well. Curious villagers came to the jetty that never seems to be completed, to see who was returning from Banggai. When the white people were spotted, the news about European children on board brought even more of the people in the village to the seafront to watch” (Harald Beyer Broch 2002:33)

The quote from Broch is similar to my first days in the village. The curiosity and friendliness was present in the moment I settled down in the village. I was for many of them their first meeting with a European and many had very little knowledge about where I came from. It did not stop them from wanting to spend time with me and for us to get to know each other better. I always felt welcome on every occasion and social setting. On the other hand, as Annette Weiner argues “Walking into a village at the beginning of fieldwork is entering a world without cultural guideposts” (1988:1). Living in a family made it easier to learn the values that others live by, to create trust between me and the people in the village, and make it easier to establish relationships. My host family was patient when I did not understand and I noticed that they wanted me to learn. The family consisted of a father (Pak) who was the village leader, mother (Ibu) and three children. Two of the oldest children went to high school and university in Palu. The last remaining one was Kina (4 years) who became my little sister and a crucial contributor for my progress in learning Indonesian. Sri lived in the house during my stay, a 20 year old and the daughter of a friend of the host family. She was given the task of taking care of me, helping me with learning the language and including me in social events. Sri became a close friend as well as a fruitful “assistant” but also a “safeguard” for me in the village. Sri was good to have nearby for several reasons: she was well liked in the village; she was from another neighborhood and from a less wealthy family, which made it easier for me to circulate among all villagers.

The villagers arranged volleyball practice every day except from rainy days or if there were certain social ceremonies. On my second volleyball practice, the news about me playing volleyball had stretched to every ear in the village, and the attendance of onlookers had increased considerably. I soon became a popular teammate, not least because of my 20-40 centimetre taller body than the rest of the players. They consequently put me in front of the net, the first line, so I could smash the ball over the net. Sometimes I mastered the task, but at occasions there was a pervading laughter by the players and audiences every time I shouted “maaf” (sorry) because I missed the punch. I was the

centre of attention quite often, which can be problematic since this is not an anthropologist's task. However, the volleyball practice gave me an opportunity to get to know new villagers who came from other sub-villages or from other social networks that I did not take part in. The volleyball practise also provided me with the possibility to observe the interaction and habits within the group, which constituted a network of women with differences in ethnicities, occupation, age, social background and religious practices.

### **Being a Girl and Anthropologist in the Village**

Living with a family and being socially “adopted” as a daughter and big sister had consequences for the fieldwork. I experienced new forms of social and cultural expectations from the family and other villagers, for instance I needed to be inside the house after dark, ask for permission to go outside and do ‘female activities’ such as cooking, cleaning the house and clothes. Following these lines, Jean Briggs (1986) argues that it can be challenging to integrate into a foreign society in which the researcher's role and expectations to the role of guest can come into conflict. The case in the introduction of the chapter illustrates that I found it challenging to handle the balance between the role of researcher and family member, as well as other expectations concerning gender, ethnicity, social class and age. During my fieldwork I wanted to strive to gain access to various social and cultural groups that are usually segregated by sex and age, as a method to provide insight into various forms of activities and which would provide a deeper understanding of the society. However, it became challenging to gain access into the male sphere since I am a woman. On the other hand, my position as a young, foreign woman categorized me as an intermediary – not man or woman – was an advantage that made it possible to circulate between different social settings (Hutchinson 1996:46). I could attend all sorts of events, talked with elders or sit in ‘male circles’ during ceremonials in the village.

### **Positioning and Self-Reflection**

I will start with describing a case from my fieldwork which captures several sides of doing fieldwork, such as my position and participation during the fieldwork, as well as reflections on how the anthropologist is always part of the room/space she/he studies. Further, the case illustrates roles and ethical considerations anthropologists must reflect on. The event took place in April in the house where I lived in Rerang before the intended Focus Group discussion, arranged by three activists from Palu. The events were part of an information campaign in villages that were located

in potential REDD areas. At that time there was no clarity as to where the REDD project locations would be situated. Since the NGOs chose mine and Ida's<sup>4</sup> village I got the feeling that the elections of villages were based on where Ida and I stayed. I am not sure if they chose our village since we thought those two villages were to be potential REDD locations, or if they picked the villages since we were there and thought we could help them with the information campaign and contribute in a way that the NGOs would be taken seriously?

There was a power outage the night the three activists arrived at my house, and since this happened quite often, I got used to responding by saying "stenga mati lagi" (the electricity is dead again) and when it came back on I responded "Alhamdulillah" (Praise to God). After the sun sets at around seven o'clock, everything goes completely dark. The activists arrived around that time and we sat in my living room with a candle for lighting, which stood upon the table. My host-mum who I called Ibu (mother in Indonesian) and my little sister were relaxing in the bedroom. I had never met the activists before that day. The three men were in their late twenties, dressed in typical activist style: t-shirts with political motives, jeans and hiking sandals. They entered the house and one of them who was named Oyi, came with a cigarette in his hand. As soon as we were seated I fetched the ashtray and placed it on the table nearby the men. It was dark and silent with none of the usual daytime sounds of blaring televisions or chatter from people in the street. I could only hear the leaves of the palm trees as they rustled with the wind or the sound of cowbells beating rhythmically towards the cows' chests as they strolled around.

Oyi had brought with him some papers that he handed to me. It was an invitation letter to prospection participants, information about REDD and a reference from the headman of the NGO who was giving the men approval to carry out their work. My first reaction was that the papers looked quite professional and I wondered why they showed me this. Was it because they wanted some kind of recognition from me? The atmosphere felt from my point of view sort of tense and serious. There was no small talk among us like I was used to with the other NGOs in Palu with who I had been spending time with. One of the first things they asked me was whether I had been talking to Ida or if I knew if she would attend the Focus Group Discussion tomorrow. Oyi told me that they had been trying to contact Ida without any success. "I haven't talked to her today, so I don't know if she is coming," I replied. Then, one of the next themes that came up under our conversation was a request from the activists if I could participate in the workshop and help with explaining what

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<sup>4</sup> Ida is part of the REDD student-team.

REDD is for the villagers. I remember they asked in a direct way that made me feel a bit uncomfortable. I told the activists in an honest and kind way that I could not help them explain what REDD is. I explained that I am just a student, not a representative of REDD, I would rather learn about REDD by observing and interacting with participants. They did not seem to understand my position and that it would have been ethically wrong of me to participate in the way they wanted me to. We spoke about the further activity for this information campaign. I asked them if they were going to come back to the village and continue their work there. One of them answered, that if there was money, they would come back. I also asked them what they thought about the REDD project. By what I could understand of what Oyi said, since he was mumbling in Indonesian, was that they seemed to be positive toward the REDD project. I asked some more questions like how many women would attend the next day. Oyi mumbled that there would be 25-30 participants. Unfortunately, the conversation continuously reverted to whether or not Ida and I could contribute during the Focus Group discussion. Then I heard someone saying "Assalamu alaikum" (Peace be with you). The calling, which I was familiar with, came from outside of the house. Several times a day Rerang people visited Pak's house<sup>5</sup>, people shouting in front of the door, "Assalamu alaikum" as an approach to ask for permission to enter the house. Pak or other family members who are inside the house would respond "Wa alaikum Assalam" as a way to say hello and wish the person welcome into the house. I responded consequently to the calling by saying "Wa alaikum Assalam". A man who works in the village as an office keeper entered. He approached Oyi, they talked, and I could see that Oyi was thanking the man. Oyi had requested the errand man to drive with his scooter to Ida's village, which is 30 minutes from the village, and ask Ida if she could attend the Focus Group discussion. I was shocked by the fact that Oyi asked the man to drive all the way to Ida's village, just to ask her whether she would attend the workshop or not. On the other hand, Oyi seemed quite relieved about Ida's positive reply.

As many others I also had problems with being caught in the middle (Briggs 1986, Broch 2004, West 2006). The story of when Oyi and the two other activists arrived in the village shows how challenging it can be for an anthropologist to distinguish what is ethically right to do. I had loyalty among the villages and NGOs. The activists wanted me to participate as "one of them", but this did not feel right for me to do. The case illustrates the importance of reflection on position and role during fieldwork. My understanding is always incomplete and influenced by my position, of who I am and what I am able to observe and understand (Hastrup 1992:54-55). Reflexivity requires the

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<sup>5</sup> Pak means Sir/Father. Pak was my host father as well as the village leader.

attention of both subject and object, and one's own position in the communication room. It's about the interaction between anthropologist and informants and how both parties affect the empirical data. During the fieldwork I experienced that the information that we received was partly influenced by our roles and position. I knew two employees from Rainforest Foundation Norway who collaborate with local NGOs in Central Sulawesi; and the Norwegian Government is a crucial contributor and partner in REDD in Indonesia with the Indonesian Government. This was something REDD officials and local NGOs knew. Consequently, when I interacted with them, there was a degree of skepticism; for instance one activist joked I was a spy from Norway and several activists asked me why Norway wanted to help Indonesia to not cut down trees while at the same time the Norwegian government was involved in the palm oil industry.

## **Structure of Thesis**

The aim of the thesis is to shed light on the various stakeholders in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi. I want to examine the different social encounters on a local level, with a focus on local NGOs and local communities. Throughout the thesis I will conceptualize elements that can give an understanding of the REDD project. The thesis wants to create a contrast to the idea of REDD as a “low hanging fruit” (see page 3) by illustrating its complexities and challenges. The thesis is divided into five chapters including the introduction. In chapter 2 I examine the development of NGOs on a global perspective and then how NGOs have changed in Indonesia. I will illustrate how the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi have become the category of “partner” (Lewis 2010) closer to the government which is a contrast to their originally independent and non-governmental position. In chapter 3 I will look into the village where I did fieldwork and describe the socioeconomic situation. In chapter 4 I present examples of *social interface* (Long 1989) between the local community members and local NGOs. In the last chapter I return to explore the KPH system as potential REDD location and discuss the importance of trust in REDD negotiations and how trust can be crucial in situations where collaboration is necessary. At the end I will present some concluding remarks.

## Chapter 2

### NGO

#### Darah Juang<sup>6</sup>

Disini negri kami  
Tempat padi terhampar  
Samudranya kaya raya  
Tanah kami subur tuan  
Dinegri permai ini  
Berjuta Rakyat bersimbah rugah  
Anak buruh tak sekolah  
Pemuda desa tak kerja  
Mereka dirampas haknya Tergusur dan lapar bunda relakan darah juang kami tuk membebaskan rakyat  
Mereka dirampas haknya Tergusur dan lapar bunda relakan darah juang kami pada mu kami berjanji

#### Blood of Struggle

Here is our country  
The place with paddy fields everywhere  
With the rich oceans  
Our land is very fertile, Sir  
In this rich country  
Millions of people struggle  
Children of labour go not to school  
Young people in villages don't have any work  
Their rights are robbed, dragged, and hungry. For all of mother<sup>7</sup>, let us give our blood of struggle to make the freedom for people  
Their rights are robbed, dragged, and hungry. For all of mother, let us to give our blood of struggle, to you we promise

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<sup>6</sup> Artist: Innerbeauty, popular song from the 90s.

<sup>7</sup> 'Mother' signifies the country, Indonesia.

The song above was sung to me on a daily basis during the period I lived in the little, tumbledown NGO-office of Bone Bula. Especially in the mornings I could hear the political words of “Darah Juang”, it was almost like a bird chirping its first word at dawn, just before the busy day begins. The activists told me that the song has become a symbol of goals or future outlook for the activists in Indonesia. In the hot and humid room of Bone Bula, Felix would play the song from the computer, and he or the rest of the members would sing, preferably loud and at full throttle. Sometimes the song would be sung in a different tone, much lower and fragile, like Ningsi for instance: gently humming the song while she swept the floor in the morning. When the members of Bone Bula sung it was almost like a morning ritual: to be reminded of the present challenge in the Indonesian society; struggling with poverty, unemployment and the vast differences between rich and poor, as well as a symbol of the work that lies in front of them like the hanging fruit of a potential goal. The atmosphere in the room was both positive and light when the song was played. It may illustrate an inspiration to fight on for a better Indonesia.

Keeping this in mind, this chapter will be concerned with examining the sphere of NGOs. I will start by sketching out my first meeting with the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi. Then I shall use Lewis contribution to illustrates how NGOs generally have multiplied in different directions and have been given different types of roles throughout the history, something that has left the researchers struggling with the task of defining, categorizing and understanding NGOs (2010:268). Furthermore, I will highlight some historical events in Indonesia's political movements to understand how the activist movement has taken shape and developed. Additionally, there have been a growing number of groups loosely identified as NGOs in Indonesia who have undertaken a wide range of various activities, including grassroots or sustainable development projects. Further they also work to promote human rights and social justice, protest on behalf of environmental issues and try to pursue several other objectives formerly ignored or left to governmental agencies (Fisher 1997:440). Then I will describe the roles of NGOs working in Central Sulawesi in the light of that so far, NGOs seem active in the role of representing local communities in national and regional meetings. In REDD discourse NGOs have at national level “a seat at the table” during the negotiations and the design of REDD activities. NGOs have therefore been given different roles such as coordinators and have been included in Pokja REDD in Central Sulawesi. I will illustrate NGOs’ response to REDD activities, where I emphasize that the NGOs express a kind of uncertainty about the REDD progress. Finally, I will highlight that NGOs in Central Sulawesi are increasingly closer to government institutions and political parties through cooperation and that activists have learned how to communicate and negotiate in the meetings with the government.

## **“NO RIGHTS, NO REDD!”**

I remember well the first day of the workshop about REDD in Palu and being surprised by the high level of knowledge and opinions of the participants about REDD. The activists were active in a discussion forum; they asked critical questions about the various issues and challenges concerning REDD and appeared enthusiastic and willing to learn. “NO RIGHTS, NO REDD” is partly derived from the activists claiming that the government must require full engagement and respect for civil society facing REDD, as well the request that NGOs need to take part in decision-making and then receive a “seat at the table” in the negotiations of REDD activities. Additionally the slogan has similar idea as the song “Darah Juang”, in which both imply a fighting spirit for civil rights.

However, the next two days decreased the gradual discipline of the participants; people no longer attended the duration of the various presentations, instead they took smoke-breaks or chatted with other acquaintances. There were fewer and fewer people present during lectures and I heard that one activist left on the second day of the workshop in order to bring an Australian participant to a well-known beach with good snorkeling opportunities located a few miles outside of Palu. Nevertheless, they were open towards us (the student group); for instance, almost all participants made sure we supplied us with food and drinks during the breaks. When the breaks happened various activists circled around us students to get to know us. The activists knew each other's work according to the specialization of the region or field. They appeared friendly and informal towards each other, almost like a group of “buddies”. Though somewhat later in the fieldwork, I was to realize that the Rainforest Foundation Norway (RFN) has been a supporter and contributor to the development of commitment to both the initiative and the formation of REDD Working Group as well as providing the means to organize the workshop in February. Two representatives from the Rainforest Foundation attended the first day and one of them made a presentation. I would like to suggest here that the first day of the workshop was an attempt by the local NGOs to preserve a good impression to the Rainforest Foundation. Likewise, the courtesy that the participants showed us must partly have been because we knew the participant from the Rainforest Foundation. As I mentioned previously, it was thanks to Rainforest Foundation that we knew about the workshop, and when we asked for permission to attend, the facilitator of the workshop accepted us, but they also knew our connection with the Rainforest Foundation. The relation between the foreign organization (RFN) and the local NGO will be examined, regarding what this actually means, where I suggest that there is a clear hierarchical asymmetry between them.



## **NGO - Transformation and as Indefinable Category**

During the last twenty years, NGOs have increased in their profile and have become influential on a local, national and international level. NGOs have grown in size and are working in various fields, ranging from international solidarity, mission and development work to issues of human rights and environmental issues. NGOs have been active and recognized for the role they play in democracy processes, conflict resolution, and knowledge facilitators in research and surveys. NGOs have been identified as the "third sector" in relation to the state and the market (Lewis 2010:261). NGOs have potential opportunities to construct and display the options in the main stream of development practices. In the NGO sphere, people participate in the work of development and social change in a way they cannot do through government programs. By not being a government agency, an NGO creates a "space" which makes it possible to think about development and social change in ways that may not be realized through state-owned enterprises. NGOs are increasingly able to be innovative and are flexible (Lewis 2010:270). My experience with the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi was that they did have a degree of freedom where they could create development programs in a way the government could not, for instance, start up education programs for the resident in far distant villages.

Lewis emphasizes that an NGO is a diffuse group of organizations that play different roles and takes shape within and across societies. It is thus difficult to define NGOs as an analytical category because it lacks clarity. Even though an NGO is not controlled by the state or driven by motives of profit, there are still many NGOs that receive funding from government or foreign organizations, or seek profit from market-based activities and then to relate it to their work, while others depend on resources from local mobilization. According to the size, structure and organization, an NGO can be large or small, formal or informal, bureaucratic and inflexible (Lewis 2010:265-266). During the fieldwork I experienced this lack of clarity about the organization and especially the financial aspect of it, since several were financed by political parties, and then the NGO would receive assignments from the local party to do a "political job", which made it difficult to know when they were non-governmental. Nevertheless, NGOs may be loosely categorized in three roles: "implementer", "catalyst" and "partner" (Lewis 2010:266). The role of "implementer" means the mobilization and work to provide goods and services for people in need, in fields including health, human rights, agricultural expansion and crisis counseling. This role has increased as a result of government reforms and privatization of policies that have led to NGOs becoming more tied to the government and donors to work with such tasks and that NGOs getting paid for the task. The category "catalyst"

highlights the role of NGOs to inspire or contribute to improve the structures of thought and action by promoting social transformations. It can be linked to individuals or groups in a community or states, businesses or donors. It can be about grassroot organizations or the formation of groups. The third loose category that Lewis termed as “partner” refers to a trend in which NGOs are working with the government, donors and the private sector in a joint enterprise, for example in a broad "multi-agency" program or project. The role includes therefore the activities of NGOs and communities in a context of "capacity building". The rhetoric behind "partner" roles is to give NGOs a mutually beneficial relationship with the other sectors (Lewis 2010:267). I will later in this chapter highlight that the local NGOs in Palu appear to be a mixture of "catalyst" and "partner", but primarily as a "partner" especially in a REDD context and that can support my theory that NGOs have closer relations to the state than to the people. The establishment of REDD does create an even closer relationship between government and NGOs, since REDD activities become an arena of people to be represented from different fields that need to collaborate and relate to each other. I will return to this subject in the thesis, particularly in chapter 4 about *social interface* (Long 1989) between local stakeholders in REDD activities.

## **NGOs in Indonesia – Some Historical and Political Highlights**

Indonesia has been marked by tensions and conflicts both political and ethnic, as well as followed by various natural disasters. After President Suharto's fall in May 1998 there was an extensive wave of democratization processes in Indonesia. Several new political parties were established and there was a strong resurgence of NGOs. NGOs had a key role in Indonesia in recent years as a voice of social change. Human rights signify in Indonesian “Hak Asasi Manusia” (HAM), a term that has been used by activists, the media and politicians in recent years. The term has a background in various incidents of violations on human rights by the government, work exercised during Suharto's New Order, including the attack on the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party on July 27, 1996, kidnapping of political activists and the period of military operations known as Daerah Operasi Militar (DOM) in Aceh and Irian Jaya (Lan 2004:228).

However, there are claims that human rights are not compatible with the Indonesian culture, because human rights are imported Western concepts. It has also been claimed that Indonesia has had no problems with racial discrimination, but rather struggles with conflicts in relation to ethnicity, because Indonesia has so many different ethnic groups, and that the core of the challenge in Indonesia is to manage diversity (Lan 2004:229). Lan refers to Antlov (1999) who argues that the

situation in Indonesia clearly shows that what is missing in the society is the balance between consensus and conflict which is an important mechanism for the development of a civil society. Indonesia has a tendency to be a society of social segments that hold onto their own original values, both ethnically and religiously speaking, and treats these values as the absolute truth. Lan concludes by emphasizing that such a situation makes it challenging for NGOs and the government to change such trends (Lan 2004:229-230). A significant event that may stand in contrast to this, and on the other hand highlight a possible balance between ‘conflict and consensus’ is the mass demonstration in Jakarta and a large crowd marked as *masyarakat adat*. The massive collection in March 1999 with hundreds of people dressed in traditional costumes and more than 200 ethnic groups were represented. The event was sponsored by several international organizations from the West. During the meeting, AMAN was founded as an organization. In view of the meeting adopted by the Indonesian government the same year, an official change of category from *masyarakat terasing* (isolated community) to *komunitas adat terpencil* (isolated adat communities). By including *adat* into in the term, it was acknowledged that people were not only isolated groups, but that they have customs, culture and ways of life (Persoon 2004:31).

Anna Tsing writes (2005) that in the 1980s and 1990s Indonesian activists built up an interest regarding environmental protection. This was a time of state repression. The environment was one of the few topics that were open to critical discussion. The environmental movement was one of the most significant in the work of democratizing opposition to an autocratic regime; they received great support from transnational agents of funding and legitimacy and created a counterculture to the government-forced developments. Environment movements formed an alternative, albeit a fragile option (2005:216). However, Tsing emphasises the importance of not defining environmentalism as homogenous, as she states: “Northern readers expect environmentalism to mean the protection of wilderness or endangered species” (2005:216-217). Tsing argues that this is a good starting point even though there are measures that have been abandoned in Indonesia. The Indonesian environmentalist movement, while increasingly concerned about threats to human landscapes, such as pollution, destructive development or theft of forest, is however mostly heterogeneous. The Indonesian environmental populism stands in contrast to the elite in several northern environmental protectionists because they have paved the way for a rural alliance that would not be possible in the global north. During the “New Order” (1967-1998) it created a wave with goals of building a national coalition government. One of the goals was to create a global movement to protect the environment: to save the nation and to save the environment were linked together (Tsing 2005:217).

## NGOs in Palu

There are about around seventeen active NGOs in Palu-area that have different goals and tasks, as well as different ways to finance and organize their organization. Several want to fight for local people's economic, political, social and cultural rights, as well as rights to land and natural resources. The aim is to develop models for sustainable use of natural resources that support economic, political, social and cultural development of the local population. Other NGOs choose to have a narrower focus, such as working with issues related to mining or oil palm plantations. The NGOs we were in contact with said that the government has a view of the rural village populations that they must modernize and change their "primitive lifestyle". Several NGOs are against such an approach and believe that people must decide for themselves how they will live. One NGO said that people asked them why they would let locals live "primitively". The NGO responded by emphasizing the importance of local wisdom, which can be understood as a philosophy: values that are a way to organize your life or village. Some NGOs on the other hand are more interested for the locals to "modernize" the opportunity to go to school and have rights, but without losing the local wisdom. If they lose local wisdom they lose their identity and a good system to nature and the social and political organization in the community. NGOs stress that the locals must be aware of their rights, because without knowledge and education opportunities for locals are weak in the face of the state. Tania Li writes something similar in *The Will to Improve* (2007), that local activists in Central Sulawesi are engaged with the indigenous people and the local population movements. There is a bond between the natives and their ancestral land and that this bond is something sacred. In my case the activists referred to this as "local wisdom". Activists say that if locals sell land or fail to prioritize the conservation of the site, they can no longer call themselves indigenous (Li 2007:279).

In order to achieve social goals NGOs organize meetings and workshops. Workshops gather people, create strategies and develop ways to work and create new partnerships between relevant stakeholders, with either the government or between different NGOs. Some NGOs have strong ties to the government and cooperate with them by performing assignments from either the local government or political parties. In cooperation with governmental institutions the NGOs will be financially supported and can survive financially. It is common for NGOs to receive monetary gifts and donations from several sources, not just one source and partly from national or international organizations or nations. Several of the NGOs we met with had selected specific regions and villages they visited and worked with. In the villages, organized and conducted NGO interventions

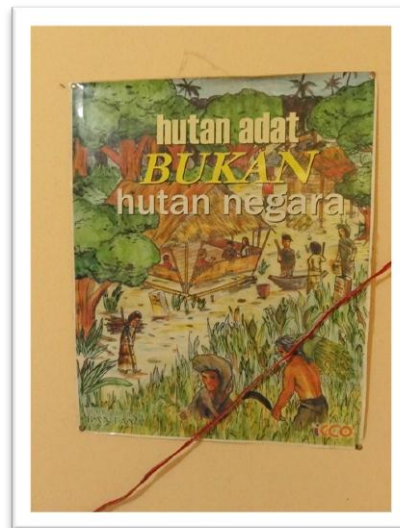
such as education assistance, knowledge dissemination and information campaigns that teach local people about the law and social rights. Li commends a local NGO in Palu that made exemplary work in the sense that they did ethnographic research, and sometimes with outside researchers such as Li, and that they continuously evaluated their own position in relation to the people they wanted to help in the highlands of Sulawesi (2007:279). I suggest the NGOs almost have "ownership" to one or more villages or a region. So for example if NGO A wants to carry out projects in a village which "belongs" to NGO B, we in the student group were told that NGO A should ask NGO B for permission to do the work and also should include the NGO B to conduct the work together in the village. The way I perceived the organization of NGOs "ownership" was that it was a way to prevent potential conflicts between each other. At the same time it functioned as a mechanism of reciprocity; to help each other financially by sharing the income from the mission, and use each other's local knowledge of a region or village and create new networks and relationships in the region or village.

## **Lifestyle and Living**

Most members of NGOs in Palu are men and in the age group between 20 and 50 years. The vast majority of activists are from the two largest ethnic groups, the Kaili and the Bugis. Kaili is based in the Palu area while Bugis is an ethnic group originally from South Sulawesi. The activists wear batik shirts which are traditional Javanese textile for clothing and have recently spread throughout Indonesia as formal and popular clothing. Activists tend to use the batik shirts in informal settings, but can often be seen in t-shirts with a political slogan. The education level is a mixture of people with education from the local university in Palu and others who are without higher education. There was kind of a "Javanese hierarchy structure" (Lounela 1999:28) inside each NGOs which influenced the work of NGOs. The Javanese hierarchy emerges from the idea of Javanese power, where power is accumulated into the power holder. If the power holder was weak, the power would dissolve. In this manner the power is expressed through a set of hierarchal relations within kinship, age, gender, wealth, and education. The sultanates of Yogyakarta are part of a hierarchal structure, with a sultan, his court, the elite and the lower classes. The idealization of Javanese power is somewhat in evidence in Central Sulawesi. For instance, this became quite clear when I wanted to talk with someone from a lower position in one NGO, because he talked good English, but interviewing someone from a lower position turned out to be impossible. In a room with the "boss" or the upper section of the members present, it will be them who talk. The younger and lower position has other tasks and roles: they will for instance do errands. They are not discussing partners

nor take part in the decision making process inside the NGO. It is often the youngest who lives in the house and who is responsible for cleaning the rooms, bringing food and serving guests with coffee or tea and snacks

The NGO's office is a place with heavy circulation of people who are either members of the NGO and other activists, friends or partners. The NGO office is a house they either rent or own. Several of the houses have a kitchen, bathroom and toilet, an additional room that can be used as a meeting room, bedrooms or workspace. All have a meeting room, where one finds an oblong board usually made of wood, and around the table plastic chairs are placed. On the walls hang posters with political slogans, for example, messages that argue that local people have no rights and have been exploited and deprived from their resources by the government or large companies. The banners used words like social justice, political and social change, democracy, greed, rights, competition for resources and property. The rooms have one or more geographic map of Indonesian and Sulawesi hanging on the wall. In the house you will find things like brochures, tables, ashtrays, coffee and teacups. Some have water containers for hot or cold drinks. The NGO house functions as a kind of home for several of its members, in the sense that if someone of the members are homeless, they can live in the house. We in the student group slept sometimes in different NGO houses. Ida and I lived in a relatively young and newly established NGO called Bone Bula.



Drawing and poster in NGO office

## **Bone Bula**

Bone Bula was an interesting NGO to study further because they were a lively and engaged NGO that existed as a discussion group for over ten years, and got the proof of license three years ago in 2009. Bone Bula wanted positive changes in the society by performing outreach and information campaigns in village and activated local voluntaries to teach villagers to read and write. I was initially interested in observing the meeting and interaction between locals and NGOs and saw the opportunity to study the interaction between the Bone Bula and locals.

I met representative from Bone Bula during the first workshop I attended in Palu. In the afternoon after the first day of the workshop several participants sat outside the meeting room at the hotel. I talked with an activist who spoke a little English and I was interested to learn more about the REDD discourse and the NGO community. The conversation focused on the potential sites in Central Sulawesi that could be relevant for REDD pilot projects. The activist mentioned the Donggala district as a potential REDD area and that there is an NGO who had offices in the district and that the NGO also participates in the workshop. I was interested and asked if I could meet someone from this NGO. The activist said that the leader attended that day and would be here soon, he was just out for a walk and would come right back. We talked further until the activist said: there he is! A thin, small bearded man in his twenties approached us; he was wearing a black hat, a t-shirt and jeans with sandals on his feet. He spoke little English and everyone called him by his nickname Popay, as the cartoon movie about the sailorman Popeye who loved spinach.

Bone Bula's office is located in a busy street in front of the traditional market town of Donggala which is about thirty minutes drive from Palu. On the other side of the road to the office of Bone Bula is a small spot of grass where children gather to play and sometimes people lay cocoa for drying in the sun. On Fridays the spot becomes filled with a small traditional market that sells, among other things, clothes and kitchenware. The street that lies between the grass bank and the office becomes filled with a multitude of people. Since the office is on the ground floor of a building, there is constant noise from the street due to mopeds driving by as well as from the passing people. The office has a kitchen, a bathroom, a room that is a garage for motorcycles and a living room, one bedroom and two workrooms. The interior is worn and shows signs of a lack of maintenance and the walls are dirty with cobwebs hanging from the ceiling. The room lacks windows and the only light is from the main door when it is open. Without windows and ventilation through the room it gets very hot and humid during the day and night.



Bone Bula

Bone Bula consists of six members, three girls and three boys and is the only active NGO that has an office in Donggala. Most NGOs are located in Palu, but can take on assignments and projects outside the Palu area. Bone Bula receives financial support from Sawit Watch (Indonesian network against oil palm plantations) and U.S. Aid, and collaborates on projects with local NGOs in Palu. When Bone Bula joins a project they will receive a salary and they try to distribute some among the members and pay the rent. Bone Bula has been commissioned by the National Democratic Party to take part in campaign by promoting the party, which is a brand new party of which the leader of the party is the owner of the Metro TV channel. Despite being active in politics and receiving funding from several sources, the Bone Bula is not a rich NGO. Popay has a law degree from the local university, and his previous work gave good income, but he decided to quit in order to concentrate on Bone Bula. There have been a lot of replacement members of Bone Bula, largely because of economic reasons. Recently one member suddenly quit, he who had been involved from the start-up of Bone Bula. He got a job offer with a higher salary from a major NGO in Palu. There is a lot work for little money in Bone Bula, Popay told me. He was fully aware that members quit in order to join a richer NGO because they want a more secure economy. The only thing that worried him was that he had to recruit young people with little experience in NGO work. Popay spent a lot of time trying to educate the activists with an uncertainty whether they will remain in Bone Bula or not.



Another challenge Popay and Bone Bula had to deal with was the preparation of the relationship between them and the local population as a result of the local government in Donggala. In these times it takes a long time to get NGO license certificates in Donggala. Donggala had several active NGOs in the 1990s. They criticized the government and fought for social justice for the people. According to Bone Bula, the government of Donggala tried to destroy NGOs because they posed a threat, and they did this by saying they were paying NGOs and putting out negative rumors about the activists. Several NGOs received the payment, and as a result of the payment as well as rumors, NGOs lost the confidence of the people. That is why there are so few NGOs based in Donggala (most NGOs are located in Palu). Popay says that they are still struggling to form relationships and gain the trust of the people of Donggala because of what happened in the 1990s. If people in the villages see people with a backpack on their back, they think that they are activists and the locals ask them to leave the area.

## **NGO – the Response to REDD**

There are twenty-seven NGOs in Central Sulawesi that have an interest in the REDD project. There are only six activists from various NGOs who are members of Pokja REDD: *Perkumpulan Evergreen Indonesia*, *Yayasan Merah Putih (YMP)*, *Perkumpulan Karsa (Karsa)*, *Solidarity Perempuan (SP)* and *Komunitas Peduli Perempuan dan Anak (KPPA)*. NGOs in the Palu area can be divided in two ways; one is the ‘Walhi stream’ consisting of NGOs that have arisen from the Walhi network. Walhi is a subsidiary organization of Friends of the Earth, a global grassroots environmental network. Walhi has several organizations in Indonesia and is critical towards the REDD project. However, there are several NGOs that are grown from Walhi-power that seem less critical towards REDD. The second direction is the ‘non-Walhi stream’, which has a strong network or connection to Walhi, but seems more positive to REDD. Members from both Walhi and non-Walhi directions are represented in REDD working group. There are still three NGOs who reject the REDD program: *Walhi Sulteng*, *Solidarity Perempuan Palu* and *JATAM Sulteng*. *Walhi* rejects REDD because the head office in Jakarta rejected REDD. *Solidarity Perempuan Palu* is one NGO with a focus on women and women's rights, and they reject REDD because they argue that REDD can contribute to the marginalization of women. *JATAM* is working on issues related to mining, and reject REDD because they have an idea about the causes of deforestation and forest degradation that maintains it is characterized by activities from mining. The three NGOs are still a part of the REDD Working Group.

## **“REDD can be a Change or a Challenge”**

Several NGOs expressed that they were neither against nor for the REDD project. I often experienced the activists expressing the subtitle: “REDD can be a change or it can be a challenge”. Whereas several activists were skeptical, yet some of the expectations were that REDD can generate a positive effect on the forest, in the sense that the forest can be protected from massive and illegal logging. REDD can thus provide solutions to conflicts over land and property rights, as people struggle with land disputes with companies in the mining and logging industries, and also conflicts between different villages. Conflicts may cause limitations of the forest for the local population because of conflicts with businesses are difficult to solve. Since it is difficult to own land in Indonesia, companies can acquire land by agreement from parts of the population without the entire village agreeing to the contract. The issue of property and land rights is a subject I will examine further in chapter 3, concentrating on the relation between property rights and the village I conducted fieldwork in, as a way of highlighting the situation REDD will develop on a local level.

Some activists emphasize that the future success of REDD depends on how it will be organized and how REDD will take shape and how it will be implemented locally. According to them, everything depends on how REDD will relate to local communities and the environment, if REDD will respect the rights of local people and if the environment is a value they want to protect. Several activists argue that it is necessary to delineate areas that protect forests, and they agree with REDD if this will be a value of REDD. Nevertheless, several activists argue that the forest policies in Indonesia have treated the local people unethically and it gives the locals limited access to their needs. Many people live from the forest and are dependent on the resources they get from the forest. The activists expressed that Indonesia has good political concepts and projects, but the challenge lies in the actual performance and the extensive problem of corruption. An important argument several NGOs have mentioned during workshops and discussion forums is the necessity of including people's rights in the creation of the REDD institution in Indonesia. Most of the NGOs in Central Sulawesi are in favor of people to be taken into account first, and few NGOs have the conservation of the rainforest as a first priority. In conversations with activists, I experienced that they found it difficult to answer my questions which referred to REDD; for them, REDD was unclear and difficult to grasp. They expressed both a kind of hopelessness while a small hint of hope that REDD can be something positive for Indonesia. Some informants thought that REDD will be problematic since Sulawesi was struggling with corruption, and political and ethnic tensions. The Donggala district was among others named in 2004 as the most corrupt district in Indonesia.

## **The Discourse of REDD - the Creation of New Efforts**

The activists' experiences that REDD will happen with or without them. Several of them decided to engage in a greater or lesser extent in REDD activities. Several indicated that they are "waiting" for what will happen in the future, understood in other words, that the REDD project will enter Sulawesi with greater power and that the activists themselves can not prevent it from happening. The activists have to deal with REDD and hopefully they can contribute to a degree of change, or develop REDD in a positive matter. This is despite the fact that they felt that it was the government who possessed the power and had the final influence. Several indicated a skepticism towards the government, in the sense that the government does not see REDD as an opportunity to improve Indonesia. The government thinks of "the money" and not of how they can protect the forest and the people, for example when the Indonesian government wanted the moratorium and the agreement was set in May 2011, it illustrates the government wanted more money because ten years ago, in 2000 Walhi suggested a moratorium to not cut the rainforest. The activists said that the Indonesian government did not care about the proposal, but only when the Norwegian initiative came into play did the Indonesian government quickly become interested in preserving the rainforest.

NGOs will help the people, through information campaigns about their rights and give information to the government about the status of local communities. Therefore, many NGOs are involved in the REDD Working Group and Pokja, as an opportunity to monitor the REDD process and future implementations of REDD pilot projects. In the spring of 2011, the REDD Working Group organized a project that took place during my fieldwork. The project had the purpose of allowing interested NGOs to travel to potential pilot districts and organize seminars where activists informed sections of the local population about the REDD program and trained the locals in how to monitor state projects near their village. I will refer to this activity by the local NGOs as 'the information campaign' and it will be examined in chapter 4. I will describe the interaction between the activists and the locals when REDD was being introduced, by using the term *social interface*, an approach to discover the power relation and further show how goals, interests and relationships may be reshaped as a result of their interaction (Long 1989).

## **Identity and Roles**

In relation to what I have written so far it is possible to draw out certain characteristics of the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi. First of all, it seems that the local NGOs perform multiple roles rather than specializing in a single one, even though it seems apparently that one main function is a kind

of intermediary between citizens and the state (Lewis 2010). The NGOs argues that they want to help facilitate local people to challenge the state. If NGOs are not being heard by the state, they will fight through protests, demonstrations and through the courtroom, but in a non-violent way. The purpose is to get the state to recognize the local life, while the local acquires knowledge about the state's function and legislation that can enrich the local population. In this way it fits Lewis' category of "catalyst" which is defined as the NGOs' ability to inspire and promote social change (2010:266).

Lewis argues that there is a growing trend for partnership between NGOs and government and business (2010:6). I suggest this is present in Central Sulawesi. The local NGOs are dependent on funding from one or more sources, to be active and able to survive. Several activists in Central Sulawesi are active in political movements and parties to bring in extra income or receive funding from them. Several NGOs are commissioned by government projects, as well as international organizations or nations. The evidence in accordance with the funding indicates a similarity of what Lewis describes as "partner" (2010:266), because it means that NGOs and government are working together. Furthermore, the term "partner" is appropriate since the concept involves a certain "partnership" – cooperation, which can be exemplified by the fact that activists are involved in Pokja and are participating in workshops organized by REDD. This clarifies the cooperation between NGOs, REDD and government.

Several activists told me that the establishment of the REDD project is the first time the government has wanted to cooperate with activists and included them in the decision-making. This new trend of cooperation between the local NGOs and the government may continue. The effect in NGOs' involvement in REDD activities, may change NGOs' fundamental ideology. The NGOs' involvement in REDD activities may pull NGOs toward a direction where they will take part in a market-based project, since REDD attempts to establish an international carbon market where rich nations pay the poor to not cut trees. It appears somehow that the activists are leading people to the market (Howell and McNeill 2010). This stands in contrast to the original idea behind the NGO as a non-governmental and independent policy maker. It is also possible that activists are driven by profit and economical gains. Some NGOs may see REDD as their big chance for improvement financially and achieve international/national recognition. Since there are several small NGOs in Central Sulawesi, there are possibilities to increase their income sufficiently and advance their social status. Consequently, may the financial benefits be the only reason for the local NGOs' engagement in REDD activities. Nevertheless, "the power to do good is also the power to harm"

and “what one man regards as good, another may regard as harm” (Friedman 1962, in Fisher 1997). NGOs are idealized as organizations that are “doing good”, which help others for reasons other than profit and politics. However, NGOs may fail to live up to the expectations developing agencies have of them (Fisher 1997:442-455).

### **Friendship and Rivalry - A Tribal Unit?**

Between the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi there is a mixture of friendship and cooperation, while there are forms of rivalry and backbiting. Part of the frustration is that some activists are upset that some have more influence and power related to REDD activities. The biggest gripes are due to the fact that the NGOs from Java such as HuMa, AMAN and Walhi seem to have more influence on the design of REDD in Central Sulawesi, which the local NGOs think is unfair since they are from Java. The rivalry is evident in this section: I described Bone Bula and their experience that there was always a danger that activists will leave the NGOs for the benefit of another NGO that provides better pay and more prestige. It illustrates a flow of members within the NGO community that is because people leave because they are seeking better pay and a desire to rise in rank or hierarchy. The hierarchy is especially present in the description of the NGO house on how the young and inexperienced activists can rise through the ranks by gaining new responsibilities. It is said that it is never the goal to be an activist your whole life.

AMAN was a bit on the outside of the inner circle of the NGO community in Palu. They were not so liked by the other activists. The head of AMAN Sulawesi and his wife, defined themselves as “indigenous” and some activists disagreed with this since they did not live as “indigenous” people; the couple were not living in a village, they travelled by plane back and forth between Jakarta and Palu and lived in hotels and used the time to participate in workshops. AMAN has a focus on “indigenous people” and AMAN has played a key role in REDD activities and has been designated the “representative” of the “indigenous” of Indonesia. AMAN has influence and received significant attention in the media and in reports, which makes them different from other local NGOs in Central Sulawesi. Nevertheless, I suggest the identity and relationship among the local NGOs are comparative with the Nuer of Southern Sudan (Evans-Pritchard 1940), concerning the “segmentary lineage organization” (Hutchinson 1996:31). In segmentary lineages, close kin stand together against distant kin. In Palu, there is unit inside a NGO but also between several NGOs. The NGOs are a unit when they try to challenge the government and when they describe their identity as someone who fights for political, social and cultural improvement. The unit has almost bonds to

each other that are similar with the kinship structure since the relations are being organized in levels of hierarchy, defined by age and position. The activists in Central Sulawesi collaborate in larger groups, but on lower levels there were competition or internal struggles between them, which resulted in that the bond “failed” and some activists leaved one NGO to seek better economic opportunities.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has illustrated that not only have NGOs increased in number and taken on new functions, but they have forged innovative and increasingly complex and wide-ranging formal and informal linkages with government agencies, with social movements, with international development agencies, with international NGOs, and with transnational networks. These relationships have begun to have profound impacts both on globalization and on local lives (Fisher 1997:441). This is reflected in how the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi are stressing they have a connection to local communities and the grass roots whether these connections are direct or indirect. Their practices remain constructed through the reference to the “local”. That is their key to influence and the reason for being included in development projects, such as REDD. Furthermore, the REDD project seems to create a new collaboration in Central Sulawesi, between the Indonesian government and local NGOs, which bring them closer to each other. The new collaborations give new hope as well as concerns: The local NGOs may succeed in promoting the local people’s rights in the negotiation of REDD and the collaboration between the government and the NGOs may symbolize positive changes in Indonesia, given their past difficulties. On the other hand, the NGOs may be driven by financial profit and by being money-oriented they may lose their position as a “tribal unit”, holding the monitoring role above the government and the legitimate right to fight for political, social and cultural improvement, as the words of “Darah Juang”. The NGOs are somehow standing at a crossroads, where they must make a choice of which direction of path they want to follow.

## Chapter 3

### The Village

“Land that is fat, fat in deep layers, luxuriant land, land that is fruitful, soil soft and fecund, land richly fertile”

(John Derek Freeman 1955:115)

Toward the end of March I arrived in Rerang with a great expectation for my stay and I felt ready to settle down with the people and their way of living. I did not have any information about with whom or where in the village I would live, all I knew was that I would spend the first night in the village leader's house and then the leader was supposed to find a suitable family for me to stay with. I ended up living in the leader's house and becoming part of his family and their daily activities as well as taking part of the everydayness of village life. Some of the images that I have from spending time in Rerang are things such as the contrast between the green covered forest-mountains that stretch as far as you can see, that rises up into the clear blue tropical sky. Rerang is located in an area with several good reasons for it to be a potential REDD project area (see the criteria in chapter 1). I chose to live in Rerang since the area was mentioned by REDD officials, Pokja members and NGOs as a potential place to be selected as a REDD pilot project. First and foremost, Rerang is close to a mixed forest area and to the coastline. Secondly, the area has a relatively new plain travel road, which was also close to Palu, the capital city of Central Sulawesi. Third, next to Rerang lies a large forest area, around 100 000 hectare, which has recently been included in a national governmental forest management project, as mentioned in chapter 1, it is called KPH and is likely to be included in REDD activities. The KPH employers have marked new boundaries and have planted 50 hectares of rubber trees in the KPH area. Making boundaries is not easy because people have used the designated area as their home, plantation, ricefield or garden, and there is at least one village inside the KPH area. There are people working in the KPH area, cutting trees and collecting ratan. They are structured in small and big groups and often connected to, and cooperate with, big companies. The boundaries of KPH are originally within an old forest area whose boundary was created in 1993, but because of a lack of monitoring of the boundaries, the boundaries are not clear and people have freely used the land.

If KPH are to be included in REDD, this indicates that REDD is transforming into a “conservation-as-developing project” (West 2006) which means a project that assumes that environmental

conservation could be economic development for rural people. On the other hand, the area of KPH is a space that gives meaning for several people; it is an area with pure forest or cultivated land; a home for a family or a little cabin (*rumah kebun*) for rest during the break; it is a place for the animals and people that live there: with small gardens where people grow vegetables; a space with fields of coconut trees, and animals among the coconut trees where cows and goats are grazing. Not far and probably inside the area of KPH lies a newly established mining company that has just started cutting and felling trees in search of iron. This all illustrates some complex challenges the Indonesian government is facing concerning land issues and property rights. I suggest this “space” of complex challenges is also something REDD on one level needs to master if REDD does not want to create resistance. I will return to this in chapter 5, while this chapter will look into the community and the people inside the village as a way of providing useful insight into a village but at the same time giving a better understanding for the next chapter, where I will describe encounters between NGOs and the local community. Through a holistic perspective I will in this chapter describe the village within the cultural and social organization by examining the village economy, its religions and ethnicity as well as describing the transmigration community that are present in the area.

I shall use the concept of agency as a model of understanding social practices, which creates a focus on how human beings affect their own life and those of others and play a role in the formation of the social realities in which they participate (Ortner 2006). I will use agency as a way to illustrate the relation between individuals as well as between groups. It will illuminate the power relations and show the “agrarian differentiation” (Li 2001; White 1989) between the people of Rerang. In the following part I will examine the relations between the village and the environment; how people use and get labour from the land and forest, and how this shapes and gives limitations to the economy and livelihood of the villagers. I will combine the concept of agency with the Patron-Client perspective (Scott and Kerkvliet 1977:439), in order to stress the social hierarchy that exists between actors or groups, but also to emphasize the reciprocal processes that emerge out of social relations. As an empirical illustration, I will describe the relationship between the village leader and members of the community. In the last part of the chapter I will emphasize certain social ceremonies and activities as a form of agency –formation of social realities, which I suggest might illustrate values such as solidarity and fellowship inside the village. However, before I write about the village, I will point out how Indonesia as a nation has organized its social organization of political-administrative levels, which will give a basic understanding of the political and administrative organization of the village.



## Social Organization of Political-Administrative Levels in Indonesia

After Suharto's New Order regime collapsed in 1998, Indonesia has been through a fast and dramatic decentralization under different presidents such as Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, (GusDur), Megawati Soekarnoputri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Smedal 2010). The new reforms that came with these presidents were driven by claims from The World Bank and The International Monetary Fund, which influenced Indonesia during the massive tension in Asia's financial market in 1997-1998. A central goal was to shift the political-economic power and authority from the state's highest levels to elected parliaments and political leaders at lower levels throughout the nation through the decentralization of power structures. Parts of Indonesia's political-administrative structure consists of eight levels of increasingly smaller scale, where the smallest unit is a "quarter" with an estimated 10 to 100 family units, depending on whether it is urban or rural regions. The different levels can be categorized as below:

Levels	Indonesian term	Leader
Nation/State	Negara/ Pemerintah	President
Province	Propinsi	Governor
District	Kabupaten/ Kota	Bupati/ Wali Kota
Sub district	Kecamatan	Camat
Village	Desa	Kepala Desa
Local Community	Dusun/ Kelurahan	Kepala Dusun/ Lurah
Neighbourhood/ Settlement	Rukun Warga	Kepala RW
Quarter	Rukun Tetangga	Kepala RT

Figure1. Smedal 2010:82, modified after MacAndrews 1986:22-24, my translation

In 2001, the new regime passed laws that called for the administrative level below the provincial level, "regional" *kabupaten* that gave autonomy and many decisions to be taken at the municipal level *desa*. The new laws put the provinces in a far less important economic role, while the rural areas to a greater extent were given economic autonomy. Instead that 80% of the revenues generated in each province were transferred to the capital, could the district keep the 80% of their income. This has led to about 500 districts varying enormously according to the economic outlook. Some districts are rich in gold, diamonds, coal, timber and petroleum. For example, Kalimantan has a locally generated value stream that covers almost five percent of the public budgets. The new scheme leads in addition to more people getting new power bases in the districts, sub-districts and

municipalities (Smedal 2010). Even though the power bases have been spread out between several agents, the local governments in Central Sulawesi are still facing several problems with corruption and injustice (Forest Peoples Programme 2011). Another problem with the system is that it gives the local government more economic and resource autonomy, where it creates a pressure against the forest condition, where the regional government which may see all natural resources, including forest resources, as a source of regional income. On the other hand, the *kabupaten* nor *kecamatan* in Central Sulawesi did not possess much autonomy regarding REDD, since the *Bupati* and *Camat* were not involved in REDD planning at all, even though the area were potential locations for REDD pilot projects. This is a paradox that the leaders were not informed about the REDD process when one of the criteria for a REDD area must be agreed by those who will be affected by the implementation of project.

## **The Village Rerang**

Rerang *desa* belongs to Dampelas *kecamatan*, Donggala *kabupaten*. There are 12 villages in Dampelas. Rerang has six sub-villages *dusun* with around 3 574 citizens, and with 844 households. The village stretches along the coast with the sea in the west and forests to the east. Rerang can geographically be understood in terms of parallel lines, with a shoreline from the west, then a line of coconut trees, then a line of houses and then a newly asphalted road. Close to both sides of the main road have people built their houses with small gardens in which they plant small amounts of fruits and vegetables. Behind the houses, there are large gardens *kebun* with one-two hour walk, and behind the gardens again, lies the rainforest. The sandy beach along Rerang is white and paradise-like and the water is crystal clear blue. Upon the beach lie turquoise-green narrow boats made of wood that rest under the shade of the trees. The boats feature a trimaran-like look, with an engine or two oars. In the native tongue they are called *Perahu Tradisional*. The beach is mostly deserted, apart from random sights of children playing or fishermen loading the day's catch. If weather and waves indicate good conditions for the fishermen, you will catch a glimpse of them sitting in their fishing boats waiting for a catch.



Sub-district Dampelas (kecamatan)<sup>8</sup>

It is up to four lines of houses in the villages which the mosques, schools, convenience stores, day care centers, administrations buildings and pharmacies are located adjacent to the road. The houses are made of wood or masonry. A painted fence with a white top and blue bottom often frames the house properties. Most houses have only one floor. The kitchen is usually situated behind the house and is made of wood. My home was in the sub-village, number one, on the second row beside the road and is located in the heart of the village with an administration building in the same quarter. The house has three bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room, a dining room and two bathrooms. In the garden you will find vegetable plants and papaya, mango and banana trees, which is used for meal preparations. The road is Sulawesi-trans and the only road on the west side of Sulawesi, which indicate that there are a lot of travelers passing through the village. On the road one can encounter a group of cows walking along the road or sleeping on the road. The asphalt is hot and people said that is why cows like to sleep on the pavement. Occasionally, it is possible to get a glimpse of stray dogs wandering around in search of food. Chickens remain near the household, cackling and crowing at all times. On the main road people are driving on a moped, bicycle or a carriage pulled by two cows. Most of the time, the roads up to the gardens *kebun* are muddy because of the rain, making it difficult for many to use mopeds. Cows and carts can use some paths, but people normally tend to go by foot.

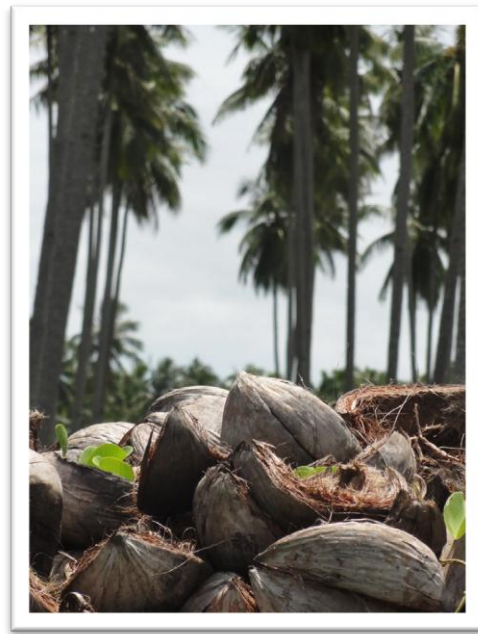
<sup>8</sup> <http://www.prayway.com/unreached/peoplegroups4/1555.html>. [Accessed 22.03.2012]

## The Village Economy

The villagers of Rerang are basically influenced by two environments: the land and the sea. The soil is well suited for agriculture; there are wet-rice fields, coconut trees and gardens where people grow vegetables, clove, herbs and fruit. The forests lie beyond the gardens. In the village you will find fishermen, farmers and traders and government employees. Most of the population is farmers, but they also work in multiple activities, in this way they can collect income from several sources. Rerang people obtain agricultural lands by clearing forest for growing rice and/or commercial crops, and fishing, and therefore land holding and sea activities are important in the daily life of the Rerang people.



Wet-rice field



Coconut trees

There is a traditional market once a week every Tuesday. People either from inside or outside the village sells or buys fruits, vegetables, readymade dishes or desserts. At the market you will find clothes and shoes, shawls and sarongs, tools and equipment, plastics, household goods, cosmetics and toys. Beside the market there are some people earning a little cash by making snacks for sale, such as ice or deep-fried bananas, and they sell it at the traditional market, at social events or make a little stall near the road and sell it there. Some run small food stalls called *warung*. Several of them are located along the main road. The shops hold various goods such as rice, noodles, cooking oil, soap, cigarettes and snacks. Some people sell fruit and vegetables from the moped. They are often Javanese migrants who drive through the streets and people will call “mbak mbak” which

means miss or sister in Javanese. Some sell fish from turquoise barrels with ice. All of the sellers have their own distinct sound and use an instrument or something that makes noise or a melody, for the purpose that people will manage to recognize them. Raymond Firth argues that in Southeast Asia, the term peasant expanded to include fishermen and craftsmen, or some choose fishing as a supplement to rice farming (1950:504). Overall it appears that Rerang villagers have a relatively steady economy, since several villagers get their economical income from multi-activities. On the other hand, as I will show later in the chapter, because of changes in the environment has made it difficult to grow cocoa and has affected the village economic.



Traditional market

## The Social Organization of the Village

All villages are incorporated into the region's local government with its different levels of control and influences. Each village domain *desa* has an appointed representative in the village headman *kepala desa*, a local man who is appointed for a fixed period. His job is to be the mediator between the regional capital and the local population (Howell 2001:153). The headman of the village is responsible for questions and inquiries from citizens about bureaucratic issues and questions concerning property rights. Two years ago Pak<sup>9</sup> was chosen to take over the task as headman from someone who was re-elected as headman for his second period. The re-election had caused tension and conflicts within the village. The background to the tension came from the conservative religious

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<sup>9</sup> I will refer the *kepala desa* as Pak, since he was my host-father.

section of the village members and I heard from several quarters that people disliked the re-elected headman because he had bribed people with alcohol to harvest votes. This led to tensions among the population and made Pak take over the assignment as headman of the village. Since Rerang consists of six sub-villages *dusun* there was one leader in each sub-village and one of them was a female leader. There is a BPD *Badan Perwakilan Desa* which has a dependent role and lies at the same level in the hierarchy as the chief. The level below consists of the village secretary *sekretaris desa* who is employed by the government to help the village leader.

### **Religion, Ethnicity and Transmigration**

There are predominantly Muslims in Rerang, but there are seven Catholics and 21 Protestants. There is no church in the village, but there are five mosques. The prayer can be heard five times every day from the nearest mosque by loud speakers. Under *solat* prayer it is considered “bad” to be on the road or working, because it may cause accidents. It is through the loud-speaker of the mosque that deaths are announced. Some of the villagers are *hadj*, which means they have been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The extent to which the Rerang people attend prayers varies from individual to individual, but there is certainly some social pressure for the males and children to attend to more than just the Friday prayers. Women pray inside the house. This is their custom, although to pray in a mosque is not defined as forbidden. Koran readings are arranged in the homes of the more pious villagers, there were two active woman groups which met regularly and rotated in where the meetings would be located. Religious songs and dances are taught to the girls. The traditional rituals are staged, but they are adapted so as to be acceptable in terms of the local Islamic interpretation of what is regarded as tolerable behavior.

The villages around Rerang are ethnically and religiously diverse. From the 1970s to 1990s there was a national project of transmigration, around 5,5 million people from densely populated Java and Bali were moved to sparsely populated areas in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Papua and Sulawesi. The settlement sites were cleared from forest and 2 hectare of land was allocated per family (Clarke, et al. 2010:37). There are four transmigration villages near Rerang with migrants from Bali and Java, but also people from the district who have moved to a transmigration village in search of better opportunities. There is one transmigration village where most people have emigrated from Bali, and people in Rerang called that village simply Bali. While others, are a mixture of Javanese and Balinese, but there are also some from the Dampelas area. Dampelas district in general consists of a mix of ethnicities both inside the villages and in the transmigrations villages. In terms of ethnicity



Dampelas is the largest group in Rerang and in Dampelas, they are the native residents. The other major ethnic group in Rerang is the Bugis, who are an ethnic group originally from South Sulawesi. There are cross ethnic marriages between them as well with the ethnic group Kaili<sup>10</sup>. There are households with Chinese Indonesian origin, both as a result of mixed marriages and some Chinese Indonesians who do not mix. Persoon (2004) describes the process of transmigration with the term "Indonesianization", a term that "refers to the process through which tribal people as well as other ethnic groups in the country's outer islands are confronted with the norms and values of waves of transmigration, as well as forms of large scale exploitation of their resources" (2004:36). In Rerang I found that villagers could speak several ethnic languages as well as Indonesian and knew about several kinds of customs from each different ethnic group. This may be similar to Persoon's idea of "Indonesianization", and can signify that people are influencing, and becoming inspired by others with new traditions and courses of action. I especially noticed the combined use of the Islamic and pre-Islamic tradition *adat* in a number of rituals and ceremonies, and how the participants from different ethnic groups took part in the arrangement. The next section will illustrate social investment and practices concerning land resources within the local community in Rerang through examine the patron-client system.



Children performing various ethnic dances with traditional clothing

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<sup>10</sup> Emigrated from Palu

## Patron-Client Bond

Acciaioli (2000) claims the Bugis are known for their principles of social organization that includes contents of social hierarchy and economic enterprise, rank, mobility, traditionalism and opportunism. Bugis and Makassar societies embrace a pattern of social relations typical for much of the lowland Southeast Asia, as evident in Scott and Kerkvliet's definition of the patron-client bond characteristic of the region:

“A patron-client link is an exchange relationship or instrumental friendship between two individuals of different status in which the patron uses his own influence and resources to provide for the protection and material welfare of his lower status client and his family who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron” (Scott and Kerkvliet 1977:439).

The system of defined ranks has provided a framework of hierarchy defining prerogatives and obligations between different stratification. Ties among members of different stratification were often articulated in the idiom of patronage (Pelras 1996). There exists a system of social stratification among the Bugis which has for centuries permitted social mobility, competition between equals, cooperation between social strata and integrations into groups, often irrespective of territorial borders. This is what Pelras refers to as the system of patronage and clientship. The system leads individuals and their followers that are linked to each other by a number of reciprocal duties and rights. During my fieldwork I noticed that Pak regularly received gifts from people in the village. Vegetables, fruits or rice were given by one sub-village, which has a lot of Bugis inhabitants. This may have similarities to the Bugis way of economic enterprise, which is often dependent upon the system of kinship. It is necessary to stress that Pak is the *kepala desa* and therefore it is natural that he receives gifts, and Pak is by ethnicity mostly Dampelas but also has some Bugis heritage. On the other hand, Pak may be seen as a patron, and the client, as the following case shows, a poor Bugis Pak gave a piece of land to. I met him on several occasions, at the traditional market, during a Bugis engagement ceremony and one particular time I met him in the middle of nowhere, in the forest area, two hour's walk away from the village in rather hilly terrain. Pak gave this exact spot to the Bugis man, with the purpose of farming. The field lies right next to or probably inside the boundaries where the government wishes to set the boundaries for KPH forest (See chapter 1). Whether Pak had the authority to hand out the area or not, or whether it is appropriate to refer to Pak as a patron, he definitely appeared to be powerful and influential. Pak told me this when I said I stumbled upon the Bugis man in the forest area: “Sara I help people. He came to me because he did not have any field or resources. That's why I gave him that spot so he



could build a little house and make a living” (Field notes). By doing this favor for the Bugis, Pak could then be offered support and assistance, for instance by securing Pak’s popularity in the Bugis man’s community, by receiving fruit and vegetables, and that the Bugis man always took good care of me and being generous when we met.

Local studies of lowland villages suggest that village-based stratification systems arise out of unequal access to land. For example how landlords play the dual role of patron and what Eric Wolf has called “broker” (cited in Kahn 1999) between the peasant village and the outside world, a role often legitimised by a belief that such traditional patron-client relations are characterised by reciprocity rather than exploitation (Kahn 1999:94). Based on my observations, this system is present among several others in the village, not just by the Bugis. The people in Rerang are influenced and confronted with each others values and traditions. The Bugis in Rerang have lived side by side with the Dampelas and Kaili for several generations and they also marry across the ethnic groups. Pak had a patron-client relation with his brother-in-law who was Bugis. The brother-in-law worked in Pak’s *kebun*: clearing the field, collecting coconuts for processing them to become copra. Pak could then do his tasks as a *kepala desa*, but at the same time secure his economical income whereas the brother-in-law had an economical security working in Pak’s *kebun*. Another case regarding this, my neighbour who was Dampelas by ethnicity was one of the wealthiest in the village. He produced cocoa, rice and coconut within large areas of land. He had villagers working in his fields, which illustrate a patron–client relation where they are linked to each other by a number of economical protection and support. I observed that long time residents, mostly from Dampelas own more land than new owners, although there were exceptions, for instance one of the richest in *dusun* three were emigrants from Bali. Dampelas relationship with newcomers such as the Bugis, Kaili and other ethnicities is complex. Since the Dampelas people seemed to have more land resources, they can become powerful patrons and establish alliances or relationships with the newcomers. I agree with Li that the patron-client relation is one way in which the categories centre and margin are articulated (1999:20). This is not always determined by the ethnicities, but also the ability to increase ones economic situation. On the other hand, a feature of the Bugis is seen through investments practices: I observed small spots of fields inside the forest area. Someone had cleared a small area in the forest and started to plant crops, others had just cleared the area, leaving it empty. According to KPH this was an investment practice by Bugis, in case a family member moved to this area or someone in the family needed resources, they could use the area inside the forest for their own use and consumption. The case stresses in this manner that the system of familial relations constitutes a dominant factor in determining the pattern of behavior in the society.

## Property Right

Indonesia's land law of 1960 was intended to promote universal land rights and land reform, but the latter was never implemented. In 1967 a Forestry Law appeared that classified 73% of Indonesia's land area as state forestland. This led to indigenous, forest dependent and rural communities having an uncertain status, while business interests were granted concessions first for logging and later for timber and estate crop development. The attachment Rerang people have to their traditional lands is largely embedded in their daily life, it may seem like there is a physical, cultural and spiritual relationship between the people and their environment. The system of production and property relations is closely linked with a society's social organization and rules of inheritance. In Rerang villagers apparently operated according to individual or to the family ownership to the land, by which means the land is held by family-members and inherited by the family. In Dampelas this rule for owning land is called *Oncko*. It is a limited area of property, with awareness of where the boundary lies. To access larger areas you can buy trees from land owners in another area but you cannot own them. Further, if you ask how much a man owns, he will not reveal the size of the area, but how many trees he owns. Rerang people are to a large degree, dependent on their surrounding environment for survival. Unfortunately they have little security when it comes to ownership of their traditional territories (see chapter 1). People can have a certificate with proof that they have paid for the house property. Pak had such a certificate and he told me that very few in the village have such certificates due to the expensive charge to obtain it. Due to the challenging issue concerning land property, there must be a slight degree of autonomy by the villager's, first of all since Pak gave away land to the poor man so he could make a garden for harvesting.

## Cocoa and Coconut

People in Rerang told me that they can no longer predict rainy or dry seasons, nor predict anything about the harvesting from agriculture. Production has also resulted in lower performance of the crop on the ground because of either too little or too much of the rainy and dry seasons. There has also been a change as regard with cocoa production. Production has been reduced a lot because the trees do not produce as much cocoa as they have done previously. Before cocoa production has given people in Rerang additional income that has provided the opportunity to save money or invest in repainting the house or pay for their children's education. This change has not only happened in Rerang but throughout the Dampelas area and also in the highlands of Central Sulawesi, the Kulawi area. But on the east side of the Dampelas District where the Parigi district lies, the condition of the cocoa trees is still prominently profitable. When I joined a family to their *kabun*, who were one of

the few who still tried to harvest cocoa, I asked the mother in the family why the harvest results of the cocoa had been so dramatically reduced. The mother replied that they do not know why this has happened, but she knows she will not be able to pay her four children for further education after high school. In conversation with Pak, he claimed that the land in Rerang is no longer equally suitable for cocoa production; it is rather better suited to coconut trees. His argument was that the soil in Rerang is saltier because of it being a coastal village. The highlands do not contain suitable soil or climate to produce coconut trees but instead have soil that is much better suited for growing cocoa trees. According to Tania Li (2001) in Sulawesi, in the past decade cocoa small-holdings have been established in the uplands by indigenous hill folk as well as by Bugis from the southern coast and rise-producing lowlands. Farmers and migrants have given up food production for the more lucrative crop, massive price fluctuations associated with Indonesia's financial woes. For instance in Lauje hill north east of Tomini bay, indigenous farmers have replaced the crops they produce for the market and home consumption (rice, corn tubers, vegetables, tobacco, shallots, garlic, groundnuts) with cocoa (Li 2001:90).

Villagers in Rerang expressed that due to changes in the soil and the environment, there has been a diminished quality of the cocoa-trees and this has made it uneconomical to have it as a source of income. Most people gave up the cocoa business six years ago (2006) and have instead focused on the work of coconut trees to produce coconut oil and copra. By joining my host mother in the traditional market every week, I got the chance to see the effect of it on the economy. Some weeks the market swarmed with people - both sellers and buyers, other weeks there were only a few people in sight. Ibu explained that the economy has deteriorated since people had to stop the production of cocoa. However, some have managed to find new income sources - engaging in fishing, cultivating fruits, vegetables and herbs in gardens, working in rice fields or planting coconut trees. Coconut-business is often the main source of income for people in my village. This business seems clearly controlled and owned by a few wealthy "entrepreneurs" who buy up coconut trees from other villagers' premises. Or that local owned coconut trees produce copra but sells it to the "contractor" (and not koprasi - state enterprises), which in turn sells it out of the village. I followed the entire work process from collecting coconuts into coconut oil or copra and I have seen the long and vulnerable process. We started with 50 coconuts and ended up with 10 liters of oil, with the consumption of the oil lasting only for no more than two or three weeks in a household, where the process making the oil took several days. The Rerang people's opportunity to obtain various sources of income makes it possible to have some sort of agency as mean scope of action; they are flexible and creative in order to achieve economical stability. On the other hand, they are

depending on the best condition for the weather, for instance with rice production, in a year people can harvest rice up to three times. If it rains a lot they will only be able to harvest two times a year. The farmers collect their coconuts every fourth month and their cocoa every week.



Cacao fruits and coconut trees

## Illegal Logging

The illegal logging is a present issue in Sulawesi. The forests in Central Sulawesi cover 65% of the total 6,803,300 hectare of land area of Central Sulawesi (Hasanuddin 2010). The forest areas are spread between different districts and the forest are categories with different forest function. In cultivated forest area, the government has granted Business Licenses to utilize Timber Forest Products. Several companies holding the IUPHHK license in Central Sulawesi are known to carry on the practice of destructive logging and illegal logging (Hasanuddin 2010:20). Pak has attempted to send letters to the government of Donggala about the problems with illegal logging in Rerang and Dampelas. He got no response or feedback from them. Pak was trying to prevent people from organizing themselves into logging groups. He saw the relationship between floods and logging. The felling of trees will affect Rerang in the form of flood and erosion that can destroy farming crops. There was a large logging company in Palu, who previously had a permit to log in Dampelas. At this moment they do not, because of limited quantity. When a company wants to log in an area, they must have permission from the *kepala desa*. Pak told me that about three years ago, a company got permission to log 300 hectares in Rerang. With 300 hectares a company would spend a maximum of five months to cut down trees and finish that area. Pak said that the company is still working "there" and that it must mean that they were working across the borders of the area they

had been assigned. This shows how difficult it is for Pak to stop the companies. Even though he has authority he has struggled with achieving recognition from his superiors.

Some of the villagers talked about a middleman called Anto that was active in logging work. He was the middleman between sensor group and a company. A sensor group is a unit of men who cut down trees for work, and there will be a chief for that group. The sensor group would collect the trees and transfer the wood out of the forest. The sensor group would get requests from the company. Much of these activities are likely illegal. During my stay in the village there was a building on the beach near a massive mangrove tree, but the house had only the foundation remaining of the original house. I often passed by the foundation when I was on the way to buy fish from the fishermen on the beach. Later someone told me that this house was the location where a group of people cut the wood into standard sizes. It functioned as a factory. The house was called the *somel* (sawmill in English), and was not in use because Pak had stopped it, but there existed a similar working group with a *somel* house in the neighboring village. Collecting wood from the forest is something everyone knows that some people do and it is also an occupation among some men. Normally the logging group is organized into a small group of around 10 people working together to gather and cut down trees. My informants said that people who cut trees do this because they do not have another choice, because of a lack of work or not enough money. While others will state that it is a supplement for occupations like gardening and fishing to increase their income.

### **Imagined Unity among Culturally Diverse People - Reciprocity and Intercultural Relations**

Some form of exchange is practiced in all societies. It may emerge through exchange of material things, services, or exchange of marriage partners. Marcel Mauss (1954) argued that an exchange as “gift exchange” carries with it aspects of personality of the giver, where the basic function of the exchange is to promote social solidarity. The exchange of a gift may give a sense of obligation so pervasive that it translates into the obligation to give as well as the obligation to reciprocate what one has received. Doing social voluntary work through helping with preparing different rituals and ceremonies or just by attending such events may be viewed to agree with Mauss’ ideas of exchange. Based on my observations, I will refer to it as an “exchange of service” and “exchange of attendance”. The exchange of service means to assist and contribute, for example, by preparing the food or serving the food under events, performing the rituals or helping with errands. It may indicate how close you are to the person or the family in charge and it shows who you are related or

connected to in terms of kinship or cooperation. The “exchange of attendance” stands for those who attend social events and ceremonies. The exchange of service and exchange of attendance are expressed through several occurrences. First, when the villagers built a new house, they arranged a house ceremony by collecting all relatives on both sides and neighbours and collectively they prepared a meal and performed a “rite of passage”, which signified good wishes for the family in their new house. Secondly, there was a house ceremony with neighbours and closest family from both sides, where the men would together set up the “girder” of the house, while the women would prepare sweets and tea for everyone. Thirdly, there was a seven-day gathering after a death. Everyone from the sub-village would meet in the family house of the deceased where they baked cakes and sweets and ate meals together.

I could have referred to several other events but overall there was some mutuality: *adaption*. Rerang people adjust themselves to their surroundings. If there is a Dampelas ceremony, the Dampelas language will be used, if there is a Bugis ceremony people will speak Bugis. *Obligations*. There is a kind of a pressure to “show up” – to attend. I experienced that Ibu did not always attend certain ceremonies, and how everyone was asking after her, as they did not understand why, when I attended alone. *Diversity*. The gathering consists of people representing diversity. Kahn stresses that the culturalisation of diversity that exists within the Indonesian nation, the view that relations between uplands and lowlands, core and periphery, inner and outer Indonesia, rich and poor, powerful and marginal are “intercultural relations” (Kahn 1999:80). Despite Rerang being multi-ethnic and diverse in traditions and customs, I experienced that the society was in many ways united. During my first volleyball practice (see page 19), one of my friends told me: “here everyone gathers, from all the different ethnicities, Kaili, Dampelas and Bugis” (field notes). By attending such gatherings, it emphasizes and maintains the “exchange of attendance”, which stresses the importance of being social and managing it and also maintaining your sociality. On the other hand, it stresses how people gather across different stratifications, just to play and have fun, and becomes clear with the concept of the cultural diversity of Indonesia that informs the national motto (Unity in Diversity) that captures neatly what has long been taken to be the “problem” for Indonesian nationalism (Kahn 1999:79).



Women preparing food for an engagement ceremony

## Memorizing Our Loved One's Death

In this section I will exemplify burial and mourning ceremonies and show how this is connected with unity, reciprocity and gathering. This is important since it gives insight into the local people's practices, as well as their capacity of act within social events.

When a person dies in Rerang the event is followed by a set of communal practices. Before and soon after a death has occurred it is easy to recognise the communal character of the event. When the news reached out to the villages, from the speaker of the mosque, people came walking and driving from all over the Dampelas area to the home of the deceased's family. Relatives from other villages arrived in big numbers as they received the message. The degree of closeness of friendship and kinship is experienced spatially where you are in the room – either outside in front of the fence, inside the yard, or inside the house. At the home of the dead, the closest family surrounded the body after it has been washed and prepared as they mourned over the loss of the loved one. When a woman dies it is the women's obligations to clean and prepare the body, while in the death of a male this is the men's responsibility. More distant relatives and friends formed a crowd in the garden where they may put up a tent, or people stood outside the fences. Hundreds of people may gather in and around the yard of the dead, often for hours. Close relatives sometimes moved in with the deceased's family for a week or more to help with arrangements and to give comfort.

In April Pak had been spending a lot of time outside the house and sometimes he came home very late in the evening. Later Ibu told me that Pak's aunt on mother (MZ) side was sick with breast cancer and was facing her last days. I arrived one night to the house with my host family. The house was large and lay next to the main road. From the street I could already see a lot of people, mostly men sitting outside next to the entrance. They talked with low voices while many of them were smoking cigarettes. As we walked by them, I made eye contact with some of the men; they nodded their head with soft eyes. I recognized many of them but I did not understand the atmosphere or why everyone was gathered outside this house. They sat right next to the entrance were several pairs of shoes and sandals lying. Inside, the house was filled with people, twenty people of all ages, but mostly women. They lay down on the floor with some pillows; others sat leaning against the wall, some others watched television with low sound, the atmosphere felt calm and soft. I sat down in the living room, next to a woman who was the sick woman's niece. She told me that since her aunt's illness, her relatives gathered in her house – every day and night. In other words they had practically moved in, and many of them slept in the house, went to work in the morning and returned after work, so they could be near and spend time with the sick woman. Some got a break or holiday from work, just to be there in her presence. The sick woman's niece (ZD) lived and worked in Palu, and she took time off from work to spend time with the family. The niece told me that the closest family would be with the sick woman until she had passed away. I asked where she was, and the niece pointed to the door next to us, she was in bed in the room next door. The door opened when someone walked out of there. The room was dim. I could see a bed with a shape of a woman lying there.

This kind of gathering until the sick person dies illustrates a solidarity and commitment between the sick woman and her closest relatives. Further it signifies a communion through the way relatives were prioritising the time, by spending the last days or hours together. This was why Pak spent so much time outside the house. I suddenly started to understand further parts of the social practises in the village. The experience of being part of the gathering had an essential impact on me, to the extent that it made me appreciate being part of a collective, but also how the dead through this gathering become a closer part of the daily life. The mourning period involves other communal practices to symbolise sympathy and fellowship in the loss of a relative. The relatives and closest friends gathered after 40 days of someone's death. The women of the family and friends prepared meals for the event, this took several hours to prepare, meanwhile the men would be near the house and they performed a little ceremony. Afterwards they eat, first the men, and then the woman. These practices may signify an exchange of both sentiment and food, but it is a way of nourishing



the relationship between individuals, households and the villagers. These social ceremonies and activities are a form of agency; because they illuminate the people's capacity of act and participate inside a community. It also shows people's position and roles regarding different people where some have more significant positions than others and it provides an understanding of who you stand closest to.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has described some social relations and social activities in Rerang. This is to give an impression of the daily life for many villagers. This description is important because it shows some of the complexities that REDD will need to deal with when the project is to be implemented. This chapter has illustrated how people in Rerang are a mixed group of people, both in ethnicities and livelihood. I have examined through the patron-client perspective how there exists a social hierarchy between individuals or groups, and also that there are reciprocal processes which is a part of the social relationships. I have described how people in Rerang experienced changes in the environment regarding the soil; as a result people cannot be expected to have the same income from cocoa as they did more than six years ago. The economic base is formed by combining multiple activities such as agriculture combined with fishing, while some has been active in forest logging activities. I have illustrated that some of the mechanisms for producing a community are through the values of volunteering and social commitments. At the same time it clarifies kinship bonds and the acknowledgement of social relations. The relationships between people seemed strong, mostly because of the volunteering and commitment in social events. The next chapter I will look closer at the social encounter between NGOs and locals through their interface of REDD as a discourse.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The Position of Local Stakeholders in REDD Design Process: Encounter, Vision and Position**

“The success of Indonesia’s REDD+ program will depend on the formulation and implementation of appropriate policies, and on the effectiveness of collaboration among the various stakeholders” (UN-REDD 2011:13-14)

The above text is an extract from the Semi-Annual Report by UN-REDD and it states the importance of collaboration among the various stakeholders. Who are the various stakeholders is a crucial question to ask and especially whether local communities are to be included as stakeholders in the collaboration. In view of this I suggest it is valuable to look further into the various stakeholders who are involved in REDD but also stakeholders who may be affected by REDD and examine how they collaborate. The aim of this chapter is to describe the encounters between actors involving REDD at the local level, which in this case includes the interaction between local communities and activists. To end I will analyse the current status of knowledge and experiences that local people and activists have in relation to the discourse of REDD. For instance I will show how information about REDD is being articulated in the discourses and practices of daily life at local level and how local villagers and activists experience the first information about REDD that they receive. Some local people have been interacting with activists involved in future REDD plans but the majority are still unaware of the project. As a result of the movement from the activists running the information campaign, some of the information that reached the villages was often unclear, misunderstood and reinterpreted. The knowledge about REDD was poor and incomplete. People are facing a lot of uncertainties about REDD: for instance whether REDD will bring them social and economical benefits rather than deprive them of their resources. The villagers who participated during the information campaign understand clearly that they could generate valuable profits from their standing forests and avoid its degradation. As a result, new hopes are introduced by speaking of new and alternative incomes to the villagers and, at the same time, they raise a lot of questions about the concrete solutions about land tenure, economic security, human rights, and whether REDD will be something “good” or “bad” (Howell and McNeill 2010).

In chapter two about NGOs I described the idea behind the role of NGOs and their relationship to villages as seen by NGOs themselves, as well as how NGOs define their role in the encounter with

local people. This chapter's purpose is to describe the direct meetings based on my observations. NGOs think of themselves as an intermediary between citizens and the state; as one activist said: "We want to help the locals to face the government and at the same time convey to the government if the locals have been unfairly treated. The purpose is to get the government to recognize the locals' lives. But then we need resources and funding to be able to help and make a change" (field notes). NGOs are dependent on financial funds from external sources. This has crucial effects for the NGO. This kind of dependency can probably be part of the reason for their closeness and collaboration with foreign donors and governmental institutions, as I stressed in chapter two, and will continue to discuss in this chapter. I suggest such a relationship raise questions about independence and objectivity.

As a starting point for the chapter I will narrate a series of encounters between local communities and NGOs. The first one is about an event in the first half of 2011 when members of one NGOs arrived to Rerang to inform locals about REDD. The second case, describes when the NGOs returned to Rerang, as a continuation and follow-up of the first visit. The two cases illustrates how the activists approach the locals and the status of their relationship, but also how REDD is being articulated and understood by both the locals and activists. I will connect my observation to the term *social interface* from Norman Long (1989), as a way of approaching the interests, goals, relationship, power fields that are being produced in such encounters. Further, the perspective of *social interface*, according to Long "goes beyond the simple wish to document the types of struggles, negotiations and accommodations that take place between intervening agents and local actors. The concept may function as a metaphor for depicting areas of structural discontinuity inherent in social life generally but especially salient in 'intervention' situations" (1989:221). I will argue that the encounter between the activists and the locals is "friction of collaboration" (Tsing 2005:249) which emphasises that a close collaboration may result in the participants having different stories and facts of what happened.

The network of the local stakeholders in the REDD design process in Central Sulawesi includes several agents. According to the local NGOs this is the first time the government wishes to include them in the decision-making (see chapter 2). This raises a number of questions, for instance, what happens when a local NGO gets involved in an international project such as REDD? Could it be that this might lead to a different way of thinking and doing development that is different from the way the local NGOs are doing it? Can NGOs contribute to shape REDD in significantly different ways? In this part my aim is to analyse intermediate relations further as I still want to concentrate

on the local level, which includes the situation and circumstances in Central Sulawesi. I will describe relevant actors involving REDD, with the aim of examining particular parts of the “webs of relations” (Geertz 1973). With this perspective I will discuss the degree of awareness of REDD among the activists and locals who are involved in REDD activities. In the last part of the chapter I will discuss the capacity of acting where I locate the ideas of indigenous and community rights that occur in the context of REDD. I will illustrate the different categories that are used in the decision-making, and also how this creates a situation where someone has the authority to represent someone, and can legitimately “act on their behalf”. In the last part I will discuss the degree of NGO’s scope for action in REDD activities and emphasize that the essential challenge lies in the relationship between the donors and the local NGOs, through which the donors appear to pursue their ideas on to local NGOs who are depending on the resources from the donors.

### **NGOs Introducing REDD in the Local Community**

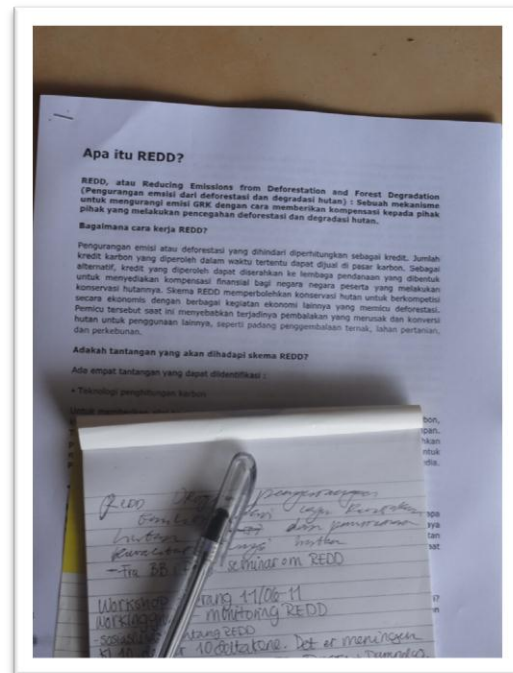
In the spring of 2011, while I did my research, NGOs in Palu started to disseminate information about REDD to local communities. The key point of the information campaign was to strengthen the monitoring capacities of women in communities where REDD may be realised. The initiative came from the Monitoring Working Group (see chapter 1 and 2) of several cooperating NGOs. The initiative also came from the Norwegian Rainforest Foundation who desired to perform through the local NGOs an “information campaign” about REDD for local communities, with a special focus on women. The Rainforest Foundation has cooperated with a local NGO in Palu as I mentioned in chapter two. The local NGO became the facilitator of the project and created a working group representing 15 local NGOs. A contract was made that summarised the guidelines of tasks, and the working group created several sub-groups which had various tasks and assignments. Based on the contract, the aim of the project was to introduce the locals to REDD, inform them about their rights concerning REDD and focus on women to be included in the REDD process. The main method to be used was through social encounters at workshops in villages, but also information was later to be distributed through the media: radio, television and newspapers.

Five districts with ten villages were selected as locations for the information campaign; the places were selected out of a list of potential REDD areas (see chapter 1). Rerang was one of the villages that got selected and during my stay in the village, the activists arranged two events in Rerang. As of this day, Rerang (Donggala district), is still marked as a potential REDD project area since it lays next to the KPH forest area. However, as I mentioned in chapter 1, the selection of the five districts

was supposed to be elected before my arrival to Indonesia in January 2011 and because of delays there are still (May 2012) some uncertainties about what they will settle on. The cause of the delays also remains unknown; nevertheless it may illustrate challenges to achieve an agreement as a result of different interests. Several sources claim that KPH Dampelas and Lore Lindu National Park will be Pilot Projects, but the selection of five Pilot Projects is still being processed. Based on conversations with representatives from The Ministry of Forestry and NGOs, critics have stressed that Pokja REDD does not have a schedule of work, unless there are resources forthcoming. Some said that Pokja REDD only works when they receive money from the UNDP headquarters in Jakarta. On the other hand, the selection of pilot projects may be bureaucratically challenging, even though REDD has been giving criteria for being a potential REDD pilot project. There were several uncertainties and unfinished settlements on how and when REDD will be implemented, but the local NGOs started up the information campaign in April 2011. In the selected villages the activists arranged workshop or seminars, with discussions concerning REDD, climate change and forest issues. The aim of the project was to pay attention to gender and women's roles in decision-making, therefore the activists invited the women of the community, nevertheless there were some men participating in the workshops. I participated in three workshops, and I did interviews during and after the workshop with activists and locals involved in the arrangement. Most of the activists participating in the project who explained REDD were men, with the exception of one woman female NGO and three women activists from other NGOs.

In the workshops the participants (between 10-25 participants) received a folder with a notepad, pencil, information about REDD, climate change and the carbon market. The activists had written invitation letters to the invited participants, who were often women groups. In two places the activists invited members of the women's Quran reading group, and in Rerang the participants consisted of the leader and members of a woman organisation called PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) – development of family welfare. As a result the workshop in Rerang had participants representing several villages, not only members of Rerang but from all over Dampelas. In Rerang the participants got paid 50 000 rupiah (NOK 30) per person for attending the meeting which included meals during the workshop. In many ways the invited women were either the wife of a high status husband or village leader, or she had an influential role in her village. The activists had written papers with information about REDD, while some had searched online and had found information about REDD and handed this out to the participants. For instance, one NGO had made a paper about how Islam is compatible with engagement in forests and climate issues. The paper with information about REDD that the NGOs handed out to the locals were so verbally complicated

that many locals did not understand the meaning and message behind them and learned almost nothing from them. I observed that not everyone read the information papers and the notepads were not always used, yet there were several participants who showed an interest towards learning more about the subject.



Participants reading the information paper about REDD

During the workshops I observed the activists as they were explaining the REDD programme and they expressed uncertainty about the tasks expected of them. The activists explained that REDD was a project that will bring changes to areas where it has been selected, and its main purpose is to protect the forest, which may affect the people, nevertheless the project wishes to give opportunities to the people. I experienced that the NGOs felt insecure about what REDD's aim was and therefore found it challenging to explain REDD to the participants. The activist expressed that REDD was still unclear to them, since it was still not decided how REDD would be implemented and how REDD would affect the locals. As a result, the villagers were confused as to their understanding of REDD. For instance one participant said that the seminar was concerned with "hutan karbon" (forest carbon). Some villagers got frustrated, because they felt that REDD was something that would take away people's resources and harm those who are dependent on natural resources to survive. As a result some of the participants from the first workshop in Rerang established a opposition group whose purpose was to work towards preventing people losing their natural resources because of the REDD project.



An activist introducing REDD to participants in Rerang

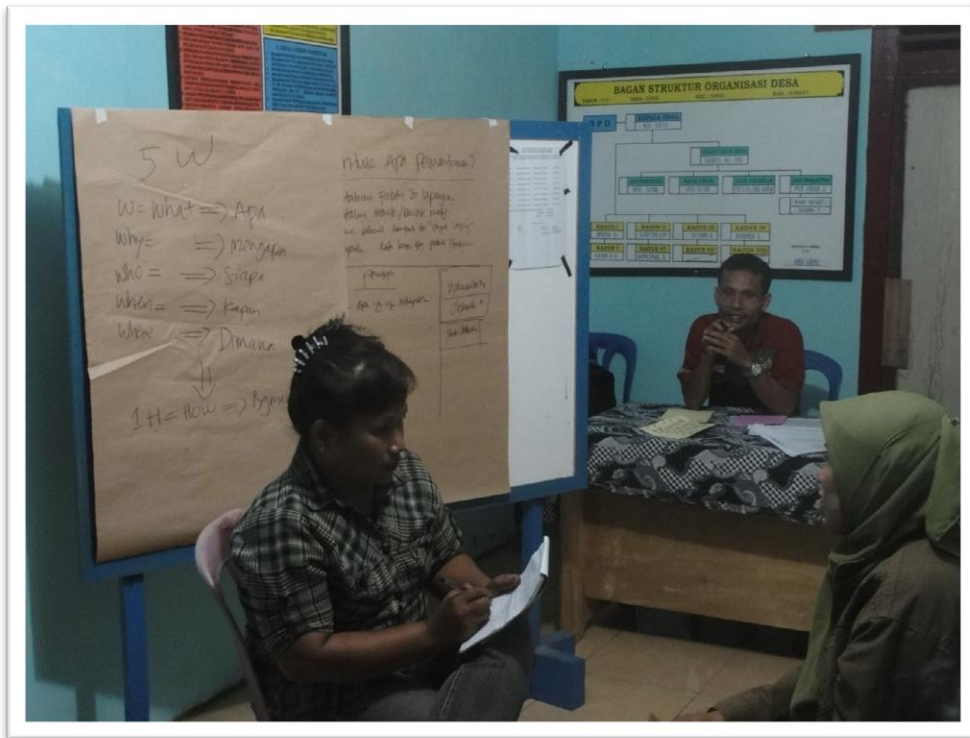
Ida and I met Bone Bula (see chapter 2) the day they had a presentation of REDD in a neighbouring village 30 minutes from Rerang. We had observed the last part of the seminar which was held in a garage connected to the village leader's house. The group of 20 women sat on a floor in a circle while Popay had the presentation. The rest of the members of Bone Bula sat quietly around Popay. Ida told me Popay varied between talking in Bahasa Indonesia and Bugis language. After the seminar the members of Bone Bula, Ida and I went out to walk to the pier. As we stood at the edge of the bay, squinting in the sunlight, looking at the beautiful surroundings around us, the white beaches with curious small fish swimming in the light blue water. At the pier I was eager to ask Popay how he thought the seminar went. Popay scratched his curly hair and expressed that he found it challenging explaining REDD to the women since he was a man. "How can I know what the women want?" Popay asked. Popay did not know how to communicate since he was a man and that the women had seemingly different lifestyles and needs from him. I asked why Bone Bula chose this village, and Popay answered that they were nice people. I suggest they rather picked the village since it was a Bugis village and Popay himself is Bugis which probably makes them cultural seen more alike and that would probably make it easier for him to explain the REDD project. By observing Popay I could see he thought that it was challenging because of their differences even though they were the same ethnicities.

## **The Second Workshop – NGOs Returning to the Village**

In June, two months after the first workshop, two NGOs returned to Rerang to arrange a second workshop. This time, the new facilitator of the project arrived with one activist from his NGO and two representatives from the NGO who arranged the first workshop. The activists had invited the same people who attended the last workshop, but there were fewer participants: around 12 people showed up this time, even though they would have received payment by participating. On the other hand, I presume the invitation letter arrived close to the day of the workshop, and that this was why so few attended. The workshop was scheduled to last two days; instead they changed it to one day with two sets, one in the morning and one in the evening. The leader of the village (Pak) attended for his introduction-speech of the workshop, but he did not stay longer because he had other tasks to do. He also claimed that he did not want to prioritise the workshop because he did not believe the workshop had enough impact power. On the other hand, the BPD representative (see chapter 3) of Rerang attended, as he did the last time, and he took an active role in both workshops. BPD seemed eager to learn and stayed positive towards REDD throughout the workshop, believing that REDD could be an opportunity for the villagers.

The workshop focused on teaching the villagers guidelines in advocating and monitoring, should the village be introduced to a development or social project. The participants learned how they could approach and act in a situation where representatives for a project could arrive in the village. During the workshop they made a draft with questions to ask if someone enters the villages as “the representative of a project”, whereas the purpose was to teach the participants to be active and attentive when facing “strangers”. At the end of the workshop the participants had a role play exercise in which one participant played a project-representative and another participant played a villager. Although the workshop did concern ways of monitoring and empowering the participants, the atmosphere was informal, calmer and more easy-going than the last workshop. After the participants had spent time together, they probably felt more relaxed than they did during the last workshop, or as two of the villagers expressed it; that they got a deeper understanding towards the subject this time, as opposed to the last workshop.





Two participants performing the role play

## Reflection on REDD among the Participants

In the aftermath of the workshop several participants from Rerang expressed themselves in a positive manner concerning REDD. Some claimed that REDD could give local communities new opportunities or improve the already existing economic structures and political system in the society. Some said that REDD might help them reduce corruption; others believed that REDD could provide new income for locals. A lady working at the *camat* office said that REDD could start a fish factory in the district to increase profit. When I asked the BPD in Rerang about the forest issues concerning the illegal logging, he believed that those men, around 200 who did such activities, did it because of low income and therefore they did not have any choice but to take part in the illegal logging. BPD claimed that doing such activities was taking a high risk and that those men did not want to do this work. BPD believed that the REDD project might give those men involved in illegal logging new occupations, so they would not be forced to cut down trees.

There were several different impressions of REDD and what it involves which, I observed, created misunderstandings, as “friction of collaboration” (Tsing 2005:249), and similar to West experience that there was a profound disconnect on the idea of collaboration between the the Gimi people and the NGOs (2006). For instance, during the introduction of REDD, a woman that participated in the

first workshop in Rerang thought that the workshop was arranged by the Forest Ministry, not by NGOs and that the purpose of the workshops was to ask people to replant trees because some other country lacked carbon. Some participants told me that they did not really understand the concept of REDD, but they knew that it concerned protecting the forest. A woman who attended both of the workshops in Rerang expressed that REDD could prevent erosion and floods that would destroy fields and villages, as a result of the massive logging. Another occasion that led to false impressions was through the information papers in which Norway was described as a nation that was involved in REDD by donating a large sum of money to help Indonesia. During the last workshop in Rerang, Norway obtained a critical role, because the facilitator mentioned Norway on several occasions, and referring to Norway as an influential and significant donor. On several occasions the facilitator said “Negara Sara”, which meant Sara’s Country. The facilitator might have used the term “Negara Sara” as a way of simplifying the concept of REDD for the participants, and since very few had knowledge about Norway, and REDD was unknown to everyone, the participants got an impression of Norway by knowing the anthropologist who also attended the workshop. But it can be asked if this only served to confuse them even more. Some activists did not understand why Norway bothered helping Indonesia, while others appeared sceptical towards Norway’s interest and commitments in the REDD project. If the activists did not understand Norway’s involvement, how can the locals grasp it? I suggest this scepticism is accurate and connected with Indonesia’s history and experience with various kinds of development projects. In chapter 5 I will describe it further with an emphasis on how the feeling of scepticism can affect the process of REDD in Indonesia.

## **Social Interface**

The encounter between activists and local communities can be described as *social interface* (Long 1989), with sets of interaction and communications between actors involved in different networks. These face-to-face interactions, which in my case were between activists and local communities, highlight different interests and backgrounds that occurred. The position between the activists and locals appeared to be of a wide range of different characteristics; age, gender, ethnicity, personal history and education. All these factors influenced how people acted and interpreted the framework and situation of the workshops in the villages. There were clear, distinct differences between the locals and the activists, whereas the activists were mostly men aged between 20-35 years and several of them had degrees from the local university. The activists had plenty of experience traveling regularly in Sulawesi or Indonesia due to different assignments. Their occupations may

partly consist in participating at meetings, attending national workshops, or writing and debating political and social issues, or being part of activities related to demonstrations. This is in contrast to the workshop participants who were mostly women, generally wives and mothers, who had little or no education, worked as farmers, teachers or in the governmental institutions, and who did not appear to travel as much, if at all. Another distinct difference that I observed is that several women looked nervous and shy, particularly at the beginning of the workshops when every participant needed to introduce themselves to everyone. Although this appeared to be normal procedure within Indonesian workshops, and this makes it clear the invited women did not have a great deal of experience in workshops. The activists and locals who interacted together were individuals who appeared to have backgrounds, knowledge, and experiences to workshops and other related social situations. I refer to what Long stresses with the study of interface encounters.

Long argues that the studies of *social interface* aim to bring out a new way of understanding relations and perspectives on social discontinuities in a development context. It explores how these interactions are effected by actors in which lie beyond the situation itself. This approach includes actors that are not only farmers and their attendant household but also many others people and institutions such as NGOs, traders, government bureaucrats and politicians (1989:222). I would argue that the Rainforest Foundation is an example of an influence that lies beyond the situation itself, because they donated money to start up the information campaign. Consequently, I experienced the activists expressing difficulties approaching the women in the village, feeling insecure in how to explain and teach them. When I asked the activists why the information campaign focused on women, they repeated the core of the contract, which I suggest summarising as a “Western way of thinking with development discourse” (Crewe and Harrison 2003): stressing the importance of gender, i.e. if a project wants to be successful it needs to include women. Several activists claim that if there is a workshop only for men, the women will never be informed or included in the decision-making. If a project includes women participants, the men will know about the project as the women will tell the men. I suggest this argument was not an original idea that came from the activists and instead was a wish from the Rainforest Foundation and that the focus on gender empowering was imposed on the local activists as an assignment. The Rainforest Foundation have acted with good intentions, nevertheless this situation stresses the importance of reflection on position. The Rainforest Foundation has a crucial impact on local NGOs in Central Sulawesi. The Rainforest Foundation pays the local NGOs to undertake information campaigns about REDD, which clearly show how wealth can fulfil someone’s interests.

There are also other crucial points, regarding the interfaces between locals and NGOs, which occur when government or other outside bodies intervene in order to implement a particular development policy. Long stresses that the interfaces focuses on the role of the NGOs and their aim to implement policies that may run counter to the interest of the ruling classes, and highlight the problems of the wider politico-economic system (1989). This implies that NGOs involved in the work with REDD would be part of a bigger network of actors than usual. There are indeed many voices to satisfy, among them being the local government, REDD officials, as well as local, national and foreign NGOs. The Rainforest Foundation wanted the local NGOs to give attention to women, while some activists especially the men admitted that they thought it was difficult to interact and communicate with women in villages. On the other hand, could this indicate that the activists did not know how to interact with locals? Even though they had “ownership” to certain villages and said that they had a lot of contact with the locals, I noticed that the NGO’s network was at times small. For instance, the NGOs chose Rerang as the location of the workshop when they could chose between twelve villages that exist in the Dampelas district: they decided to arrange the workshop where I lived. As a second location for a workshop in Dampelas, they selected the village where Ida did her fieldwork. As I mentioned in chapter 1, this eagerness and pressure from Oyi that wanted Ida and me to participate during the workshops in Rerang might imply that the NGOs wanted or needed help to enter certain villages.

Another illustration that indicates NGOs’ limited networks occurred in March as I joined two local NGOs in visiting a village where the purpose was to inform about oil palm. This was part of an information and empowerment campaign project for villages nearby Palu. I summarises five critical points based on my observations:

- First, it shows how little prepared some of the activists are, for instance Nasir who had the responsibility to take notes needed to borrow a pen of mine since he did not bring one himself.
- Second, it refers to the degree and scale of the network. The activists came to a local house, which was not the chief’s house, but an ordinary man’s house in the village, since this man was the only one the activists knew. The activists therefore used a connection from a family member and not from a work-related network group.
- Third, it indicates the time aspect: ten minutes of interaction with locals, and a four hour trip in total, which illustrates the limited interaction with local communities, while there was significant connection within the NGOs; spending a great deal of time to plan and attend meetings.

- Fourth, why did so many activists attend the trip? They were seven men in total and only two of them did the communication with the locals.
- Fifth, the activists arrived at the village, without announcing their visit in advance and the contact person was absent when the activists arrived.

These five points would appear to contradict some local NGOs who claimed that they had regular contact with local communities. I suggest the local NGOs cannot manage to carry out the role as the mediator between the local community and nation. Despite the NGO's "ownership" to certain villages and their articulating speech that expresses knowledge during workshops and meetings, I suggest NGOs remains as the category "Partner" (Lewis 2010), which I stress in chapter 2, and are therefore closer to non-state and state agents rather than the local communities.

## **The Substance of and Ways of Communicating REDD**

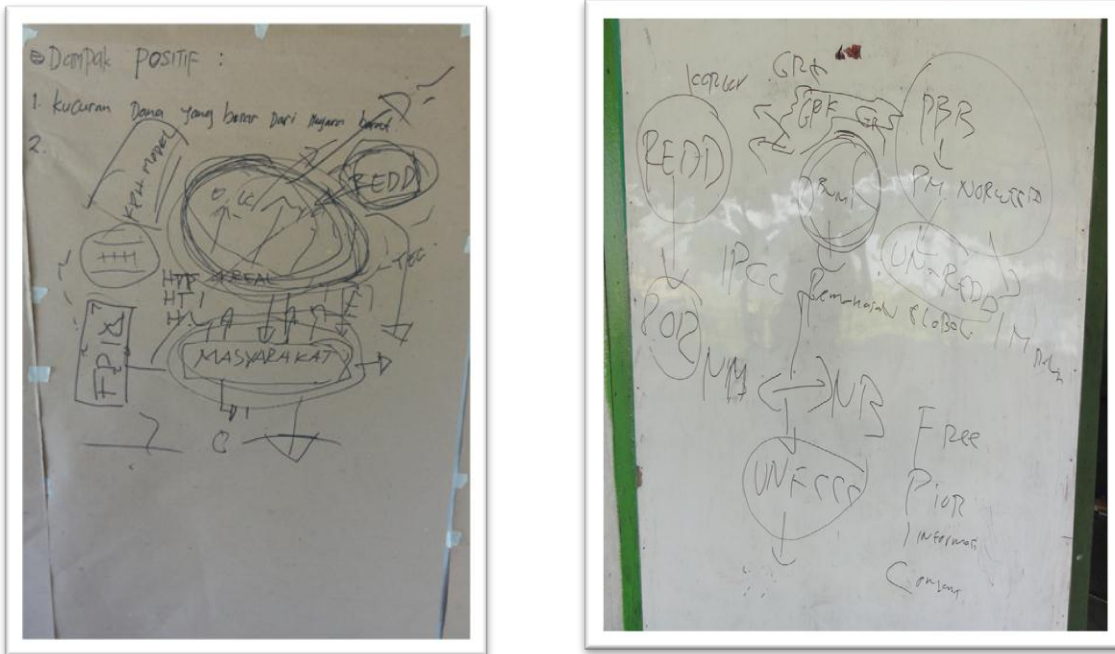
The promotion of REDD in villages turns out to be communicated in diverse way. The activists were interested in talking primarily to women, although there were usually men attending, which I suggest that the participation of the men in the women's group prompted certain questions, particularly regarding the progress of the workshops. Even though there were few men attending, they were still active and influential during the workshops. I suggest that by focusing on gender in the information campaign, the project itself lost a lot of attention and resulted in under half of the invited participants attending the workshop, with even fewer attending the second workshop. Could it be that the quality of the presentation was not solid enough? Or was it because the invitation letter arrived too late, and therefore several participants could not attend? Consequently, the information about REDD did not circulate after the workshop in Rerang even though several participants did appear to be committed and engaged. The strategy of focusing on women participants is clearly a priority of the Rainforest Foundation. On the other hand, several activists expressed that they had good intentions when I asked about the connection between REDD, climate change and women's rights. For instance, one activist expressed several strategies: that women needed to be informed that they also have rights to natural resources and this could be done by telling them about governmental laws and human rights. Women need to know about their rights to REDD, since gender equality is not mentioned often in national strategy in Indonesia. It is important that the women improve their position in daily life, since in many cases women are not involved in political decision making at village level, while the men are the ones who obtain power and men do not distribute information or knowledge along to women. If women are participating in workshops and

meeting, then it is normal that this information will be passed on to the men. That was the activist's strategy with the information campaign: if women know something, then the men will know it also.

The activists brought up questions about resources and sometimes made promises regarding benefits if REDD happened to be implemented in their areas. However, the NGOs are not really in favour in bringing up the topic about REDD and carbon credit payments at village level at an early stage as it could generate new hopes too fast and as a result exacerbate internal conflicts and generate all kind of misunderstandings. It seems to be most important that, while talking about REDD at the community level, proper terminology is employed that can explain the necessary steps in order to reach the desired outcome. My experience shows that The Rainforest Foundation is eager to inform about REDD at village level, and because of the time schedule and little communication between REDD officials, each activist group made their own information material about REDD without consulting each other. They either made the information material or they found information on the Internet, which led to a vague language and complicated information that based on my observations several participants did not understand. On the other hand, the activists wanted the information campaign to be an autonomous project and independent from REDD, and did not want to use material produced by REDD officials.

Again, this brings me back to *social interface*, which helps to explore how discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation (Long 1989:221-222). Such interfaces have arisen when the activist expressed difficulty in explaining the concept of the REDD project. Since REDD is based on scientific knowledge, it is created in a language that is not available to most villagers (or NGO activists for that matter). Therefore, the activists need to speak in a language that can be understood by the villagers. The NGOs had difficulties in interacting with the locals, especially because of the language used in the seminars and the information materials. Some NGOs talked in academic language and, because of their different lifestyle, they had difficulties in interacting with each other. Another excursion was arranged by Bone Bula to a village up in the hill located south of Donggala; this was one of the villages Bone Bula "owned". The meeting between the leader of the village and the NGO illustrate the way the activists are operating with complicated language. Popay talked to the leader in an advanced Indonesian, and according to Ida (who speaks fluent Indonesian) she believed that the leader did not understand what Popay said. This highlights factors such as position, communication, language and different social backgrounds (Long 1989). Additionally, the printed information about REDD that the NGOs that was handed out to the locals was so

complicated that many locals did not understand the meaning and message behind it and did not learn from it. The institution of REDD in Indonesia has been producing a large amount of brochures and posters that try to explain REDD: none of this has been handed out to locals yet. The working group of NGOs did not want to use this material since they wanted to be an independent movement, but their weakness was that the information paper that was made did not give villagers appropriate material, and this in turn indicates the urgent need for good, simple information literature.



Drawing made by the activists during the presentation of REDD

The paradox in this case can be summarised by one activist engaging in the information campaign, he said “kita lebih cepat daripada REDD” (*we are faster than REDD*) which refers to the fact that the NGOs in Palu were the first ones approaching locals with information about REDD, while the REDD program had not even started. This indicates that villagers are asked first to evaluate REDD before they have become introduced with REDD. NGOs think this is good because then people will be ready to contribute and respond to REDD once REDD arrives on the scene. On the other hand, this may give impressions of REDD that are at variance of how REDD will be presented later. Until then, the reception of such a projection of REDD and its intentions by villagers may create misunderstandings and even worse develop into potential conflicts. Until now REDD is a vague project with a lot of international money involved, which wishes to protect the forest and, perhaps, give local communities some benefits.

## **The Capacity of Acting - Locating Ideas of Human and Community Rights**

REDD raises several challenges, one such is the issue of rights. According to the report made by HuMa (Wood 2010), which stressed that forest user communities have made little progress in establishing rights, use or ownership over the Indonesian forest estate. The risk from REDD for Indigenous people that have been pointed out are experiences from a REDD pilot project on avoiding deforestation in the Noel Kempff National Park in Bolivia launched in 1997. Based on this experience, it shows that the payment for ecosystem services reinforce state and private sector control over forests as benefits are captured largely by state agencies, local governments and international conservation NGOs and not indigenous and forest communities. The design and implementation of such projects are top-down and limit stakeholder participation and exclude indigenous peoples from the benefits from such projects (Griffiths 2008, in Schroeder 2010:322). On the other hand, the UN-REDD Programme has adopted a United Nation human rights-based approach to programming, with reference to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, (UNDRIP) and the United Nations Development Groups Guidelines. According to such regulation, indigenous people must fully participate in the definition and implementation of policies and plans related to climate change mitigation. The UN-REDD Indigenous Peoples Guidance requires their participation in the “development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation” of all Programme activities that may impact on the rights and livelihoods of indigenous peoples and other forest-dependent communities. It also states that Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) must be followed in order to ensure the full and effective participation of indigenous peoples and other forest-dependent communities in policy and decision-making processes (UN-REDD 2011). In such matters, it is crucial to ask, who are those people that are referred to as indigenous people? What are the characteristics of being Indigenous? As I mentioned in previous chapters, this is a critical keystone for Indonesia, since the Indonesian government has dealt with the problem of defining its tribal population (Persoon 2004).

It was the official line of Suharto’s regime that Indonesia is a nation which has no indigenous people, or that all Indonesians are equally indigenous. Under Suharto the national motto, “unity in diversity”, presented acceptable limits of Indonesia’s cultural differences. Nevertheless, a discourse on indigenous people took hold in activist circles in the final years of Suharto’s rule, and its currency in the Indonesian countryside is still increasing (Li 2008:339). The concept “indigenous people” embraces a wide range of terms such as *masyarakat adat*, *masyarakat tradisional*, *masyarakat asli* and *penduduk asli* (Li 2008:343). For some the term “indigenous people” might be



applied not only to especially isolated or exotic groups but to the majority of Indonesian's rural citizens outside of Java. Li's research from Lake Lindu and in the Lauje Hills in Central Sulawesi, illustrates the uneven channels through which outsiders connect to "the local" (2008). I suggest it is the same issue that occurs in other places as well can be a reality in the implementation of REDD where REDD may face questions such as: who are 'locals' and who are 'indigenous'. Li shows how someone from 'outside' categorised who are the local and who are not, and she illustrates how this resulted in consequences for the involved villages. I suggest this can happen in areas where REDD are to be settled locally. To be categorised can determine and effect how much you have rights to resources and social benefits.

However, REDD officials use among them the term to mean indigenous people *Masyarakat Adat*, but for those who are living in an area such as where I did my field work, Dampelas, they referred to local people *Masyarakat Lokal*. Those NGOs and REDD representatives I followed referred to Indigenous people as guardians of the forest and the one who looks after the forest. Both NGO and REDD officials refer to Indigenous people as people who are still "poor" and need help to improve their lives. Nevertheless, what kind of help do they need, is not mentioned nor what kind of funding system that will be implemented to improve people's lives. REDD officials presented a possible solution of a development programme in a REDD context. They argued that it is not a good idea to give cash because money may cause potential conflict among people. Rather give them a development programme, like building roads and schools, or give micro credit to loan for small businesses it was argued. These were some of the subjects that were mentioned at the REDD workshops in Palu. Among the NGOs, they talk about local people *masyarakat lokal* and Indigenous people *masyarakat adat*. Some NGOs stress there is not only Indigenous people who live in and by the forest, but also local people who have similar problems and challenges as Indigenous people because of their dependency on natural resources from the forest. Several NGOs claim that REDD forgets to talk about local people, since there is mostly a concern about Indigenous people, but what about the transmigration villages? What are they referred to as?

As a result, the REDD Working Group has arranged workshops in local communities and not only among the Indigenous people, and have included the issue of local community in some of their publications as an action of promoting the local community in the scheme of REDD. NGOs talk mostly about the people's right and how people can be potential victims when faced with the REDD project. On the other hand, there were clear differences in NGOs' behaviour during the information campaign when the activists showed a critical role towards REDD, while during open forum under

REDD workshops when they are a minority and had a passive role in the room. The definition of local people and indigenous people is challenging for several NGOs, but not for AMAN who operates with certain criteria that defines indigenous people (see chapter 1). Some NGOs do not agree with AMAN, even though they have used AMAN's criteria of indigenous people. In Central Sulawesi AMAN has been given certain power in the field of defining indigenousness and selected by REDD officials as a representative for indigenous people.

Given that there exists several perspectives and definitions of indigenousness, it has been stressed often how indigenous people or communities have certain belongingness to the forest. United Nations defines indigenous people as who have “a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories”. Further, they “are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existences as people, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system” (United Nations 2004, cited in Schroeder 2010). Li stresses that Indonesian activists draw upon the arguments and images which are supplied by the international indigenous rights movement, especially the claim that indigenous people derive ecologically sound livelihoods from their ancestral land and possess forms of knowledge and wisdom which are unique and valuable (2008:343). This phenomenon is what Tsing refer to as “Tribal Elder” (1999; 2005; 2008) where the activists are allied to certain local communities. I suggest the pitfall that must be avoided is the projection of the claim that indigenous people are nature loving, otherwise they are not real indigenous people. This assimilation is a projection of what Larry Lohmann (1993) calls a “green orientalism” that involves making up an exotic story about certain groups of people and then imposing this fantasy on them (Lohmann 1993, in Li 2008:354). While focusing on the “privileged” category of indigenous people, this may exclude minorities and poor people living off forests’ products and services who are just as vulnerable to the effect of climate change as they are to certain policy responses (Schroeder 2010:318). On the other hand, by defining a particular region, people and practices as marginal, disorderly, traditional and need “development”, is to deploy a discourse of power (Li 1999:11).

## **Representation – Act on their Behalf**

NGOs represent the locals, the grass roots. They stress the indigenous people's knowledge as significant (Fisher 1997). AMAN in Central Sulawesi has several local communities they collaborate with and/or almost have "ownership" over. Due to AMAN's contact with local communities, it is probably why AMAN has been given an important task within the REDD activities both on the national and local level. AMAN has become the NGO that "represents" the indigenous people *masyarakat adat*. This has consequently led to a degree of dissatisfaction among the other local NGOs. Some activists in Central Sulawesi called some members of AMAN "check in, check out activists", due to their closeness to the power elite in Jakarta, traveling by airplane, living at hotels and having rare contact with the "indigenous community" even though they claim their identity to be "indigenous. What about those who do not refer as indigenous that live in or nearby the forests but do not qualify? The concept of the local is central to the pursuit of the varyingly interpreted, contemporary development of the objectives of participation and empowerment. The use of national and international intermediary NGOs to facilitate, fund, promote, and provide planning and organisation has resulted in the paradoxical attempt to generate participation through a top-down processes of planning and organisation (Chambers 1995, cited in Fisher 1997:454-455). Development agencies may allow an NGO to "represent" indigenous people where the decisions are taken. On the other hand, are NGOs the appropriate ones to "represent" indigenous people or local communities? As I stated in chapter 2, the NGO have become almost an "elite" – attending international and national meetings, being well articulated, almost acting their profession in discussion and talking in workshop. Based on such observations, I suggest that particular NGOs have become closer to the state and lost some of their closeness to who it is they are "representing". The gap between locals and activists is highlighted in the encounters between them, which may have consequences for the future collaboration between them and the progress of REDD. It is not a bad thing that local NGOs want to grow and expand their businesses, want to have a "place at the table" where decisions are being made. As one activist told me, it is not the goal of an activist to be an activist their whole life, if so that means you have not been successful.

Climate change policy has become a useful organising tool for indigenous leaders in their struggle for recognition of their sovereignty, self-determination and traditional land rights (Doolittle 2010:287). REDD may give opportunities for indigenous people to demand recognition of their rights and experience-based knowledge and give attention to the value of their tradition and cultural systems which they believe are protecting the world's remaining forests areas. At the international

climate negotiations Schroeder stresses that indigenous people have raised attention to their cause at the climate negotiations of REDD, and although national governments and NGOs in theory represent indigenous people as their constituents, this has not often been the case in practice (2010). Indigenous people are often marginalised domestically; they are given advocacy and participation because of their inferior role. However, this is only true on one level. They are being consulted and invited to provide input or feedback, but participation is constrained by a weaker legal standing and gives a marginal engagement in climate convention processes (Doolittle 2010).

## **NGO and Donors' Agendas**

Li argues that the activities and agendas of Indonesian NGOs are both shaped by state policies and donor priorities. Similarly, international donors adjust their agendas to accommodate, while also attempting to reform, the policies and programs of particular state agencies and NGOs (2000). Li's criticism is relevant to my field: the donors and NGOs participating in the process of informing about REDD, is making it difficult to separate or clearly distinguish "government, "non-government" and "donor" positions (Li 2000:125). As I mentioned, during the information campaign about REDD in the villages, there were several "friction of collaboration" (Tsing 2005) or misunderstandings about the purpose of the workshop, where one participant thought the activists were governmental representatives that asked them to replant trees for another country that had little carbon. Even though the REDD activities are unclear at present since it is still at "decision-making level", this example shows the difficulties to distinguish between the roles as Li argues.

Rainforest Foundation Norway (RFN) started working in Southeast Asia in 1997 and they have developed a range of projects together with local organizations in Indonesia and Malaysia. During my fieldwork I experienced how RFN worked, monitored and affect their foreign "partners" by carrying out projects. RFN employees monitored the work of the local NGO through visiting them over a period ranging from a few days or longer, or they participate in certain events and workshops which the local NGO took part in. Additionally RFN could correspond with monitoring the local progress of REDD in Indonesia through their "partnership" with the local NGO. By having the local NGO as a participant at REDD activities, RFN could then take part and affect the REDD activities through the local NGOs by monitoring the dissemination of information from the local NGO. Another crucial point is that since RFN is a Norwegian organisation and an important agent in environmental policies in Norway, RFN can use this to their advantage, using it almost as part of a strategy to be a legitimate important decision-maker in REDD activities in Indonesia. The Forest

Ministry of Central Sulawesi expressed that they did not like RFN had given themselves a role as responsible to monitor the REDD process in Central Sulawesi. Since RFN is partly funded by the Norwegian government and Norway is a crucial contributor to REDD in Indonesia, I suppose that they cannot stop RFN activity in Central Sulawesi and their strong mobilization of NGOs that is likely to have an impact on the progress of REDD.

Despite the fact that the purpose of RFN's activity in Indonesia is for overall improvement and with good intentions, I suggest RFN must be aware of the power relations they are part of which has similarity with Li's writing (2007) about developing agencies' need to reflect on their self-positioning. RFN's presence has an impact on the "space" they take part in and need to see how crucial their role is. RFN must reflect on their interaction with other agents which RFN gives funds to. Further, RFN should be aware of their motives and interests when they are faced with the local NGO's (partner) goals and targets. Even though RFN defined the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi as partners, it is clearly not a balance of power. One motive or reason for the unbalance is that REDD working group which tries to monitor REDD, was partly created as an initiative of RFN. Therefore, I am asking myself this: does the partnership between RFN and local organizations have a cooperative or hierarchical cooperative bias? Fisher emphasizes that NGOs are vulnerable in their position as beneficiaries of outside funding and this may make the NGO willing to take assignments that they are not necessarily keen on. He illustrates this idea with to multilateral development agencies (MLAs) that tend to choose to fund NGOs that are MLA-friendly (Fisher 1997:454).

There is partly a "dependency" relationship between RFN and the local NGOs regarding funding and resources. If the local NGOs do not agree with RFN, they can in theory find another "partner" to receive funding from. However I believe this is not that easy. On the other hand, may the economic dependence leads to the local NGOs to act in the line with "foreign" wishes. I suggest it is crucial that the wish to carry out a certain task must have its motivation from the inside. Success will come easier if the ideas are from the NGOs and on their own premises. For example, what I illustrated with "gender focus" on the information campaign is clearly Western thinking and policies, and it did not match with the local NGOs' working methods. Lounela claims that those foreign donors active in Indonesia have had a major influence on the position, vision and missions of local NGOs (1999). Donors have often promoted development and modernization, and have influence on the structure and ideology of the NGOs. They favoured the big NGOs that have "modern structures" which in turn led to a discrimination against small NGOs. This led to many NGOs have following the model of Western NGOs as a way of pleasing donors (Lounela 1999:28).

There is a dual approach to Western donors and while a Western donor may do badly by doing good (Fisher 1997). Western donors are suspected, but also welcomed and favoured. This creates a situation where a Western researcher or activist may have difficulties sometimes to get “real contact” with local NGOs. Every NGO is afraid that a western donor trying to influence the work in undesirable ways, even though it needs the funding. This creates a problematic and dependent relationship (Lounela 1999:29).

Stirrat and Henkel draw on “The Gift” when they examine the relationship between Western development non-governmental organizations and their Southern counterparts. They show that what starts out as a seemingly free gift was transformed and developed into a deep conditional gift when it reached the ultimate recipient. When it appears to be a one-way flow of goods, there are in practice symbolic forms of reciprocity that ties Northern donors and Southern receivers together. The authors claim that the complexities of this relationship make them problematic since there is no such thing as a free gift (Stirrat and Henkel 1997:66). Among the local NGOs in Central Sulawesi there were clear differences in economic wealth, which has the consequence that some NGOs do receive funding and others do not from foreign support. The NGOs are clearly dependent on financial support whether it is small or large amounts and if it is from foreign or governmental institutions. The dependent relationship between Western donors and NGOs in Central Sulawesi does create a certain competition among the locals NGOs, regarding those NGOs who manage to “please” the donors will eventually receive more funding. With solid funding income comes an NGO’s wealth and will improve their work capacity with new technology and guidelines. In Central Sulawesi I observed that a foreign supported NGO owns a car, rented a big house as office and owned several computers. Several members had their own laptops and their salary was above the average of the activists. This is in contrast to the other smaller NGOs who are dependent in sub-contracted by larger NGOs.

## **Conclusion**

REDD success in creating meaningful dialogue and coordination with civil society will be crucial. The formulating of the policies to implement REDD will mean dealing with conflicting interests, the rights of indigenous people, as well as issues of land tenure and overlapping policies and laws. Most of all the settlement in the REDD’s schema appeared a bit blurry and moves slowly. Like for example the Monitor Working group of activists started up with the information campaign about REDD before REDD institution began with communicating REDD to locals. Some local

communities got information about how to respond to REDD before they even heard about the project itself. However, there were mostly the “elite” of the female population inside the villages, that attended the workshop about REDD. Will they represent the female part of the village in the future? And if such information campaigns wish to have any affect it must be important that the knowledge will “flow” through to everyone in the village. Most likely it did not happen in the case I witnessed and there was not any form of supervision or checking that the information about REDD was distributed throughout the village. Or did the locals even take the information seriously since the message of REDD was so irreproachable? Much indicates that they were sceptical and took a “wait and see” position. NGOs have an important and influential role in the process of REDD. However, the challenge lays in whether or not NGOs have enough room for action from international donors and if their voice will be heard in the negotiation and creation of REDD in Central Sulawesi. Although the term partnership reflects an equal relationship between the various stakeholders that wish to collaborate, on the other hand I suggest that the use of the term partnership is often a way of “hiding” an uneven division of power.

## Chapter 5

### The Landscape of REDD in Central Sulawesi

This chapter will contextualise the landscape of REDD and conjoin all the previous chapters, trying to draw together some elements of the situation of REDD activities in Central Sulawesi. I will discuss the issues of KPH – the forest management system that will probably be included as a REDD project – and show how this system indicates a “protect forest” perspective rather than including local communities, who might, as a consequence, need to resettle in the name of conservation, according to the KPH system. This is a contrast to the idea behind REDD, which stresses the importance that “indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories” (Schroeder 2010:328). Furthermore, I will concentrate on examining the importance of trust in transnational and local collaboration and combine it with empirical observations from fieldwork. Li (2007) provide insight into the challenges of development projects in Indonesia. My aim is to have an historical overview of Indonesia’s memory of the past and the feeling of skepticism, and how this can affect the process of REDD in Indonesia. Last part will be a final conclusion for the whole thesis.

#### KPH – Future Conservation and Potential Displacement

KPH is a governmental system which tries to preserve and protect the forest, and is not *per se* a social development project, and could be seen to resemble REDD’s original idea of saving rainforest areas. If KPH is to be included in REDD, the further establishment of KPH may be the closest Rerang will experience to a forest programme. How should the KPH system take the different ethnicities in Rerang into consideration, and how will this affect the patron-client relationship? Will some individual be more provided for than others, for instance the patron since he is already a superior? As I briefly mentioned in chapter 3, an iron company was in its starting phase of mining in Rerang, close to a KPH forest area. How will they solve the issue with boundaries? Tsing gives us an illustration from South Kalimantan with distinct conflicts between villagers and a timber company (2005:247). How will the iron mining company in Rerang act with regard to the land areas used by the local communities? How will the NGOs handle this, who will they protect? Will they protect one village as a whole, or just some ethnic groups? Smedal describes certain effects of recent political decentralization on a small ethnic group, the Lom in Indonesia. The Lom was split in two parts, which one part wanted to continue with the (1) small scale mining and the other part wanted (2) large scale, capital intensive plantation monoculture. Smedal also



shows how an influential NGO reacted quickly and officially supported one opposition (2010). Such division in a community, may happen in Rerang if REDD is to be implemented; where one part may reject the project while others will stay positive, depending if they receive benefits or not.

Displacement can be a consequence of conservation or a development project, in the same manner that REDD can be implemented in Central Sulawesi. Conservation of species and ecosystems (trees) requires some sort of restrictions on human activities – local, state and corporate – in areas where species or ecosystems are to be conserved (Agrawal and Redford 2009). Even though KPH is divided into various categories of forest, the motive behind it is to give some sort of restrictions on human influences in various degrees. Since Indonesia struggles with mapping clear boundaries of land and also has problems with legitimate laws of property rights as I showed in chapter 1 and 3, KPH is a solution to this problem. On the other hand, some actors may find it unfair how the borders will be marked. There have been borders between Rerang and the forest area before, but these have not been maintained or sustained. The existence of the forest borders from 1993 was unknown to most of the villagers, and as a consequence there has been activity inside forest borders as I mentioned in chapter 3, and the establishment of KPH may create tension between the locals and the state agents from KPH. Overall it appears that Rerang villagers have a relatively steady economy, since several villagers get their economical income from multi-activities. On the other hand, If REDD are to be implemented in the areas near Rerang, it can affect people's income, for instance by preventing them from cultivating in their *kebun*. Some Bugis groups have small spots of cleared land in forest areas, which are in use or will be used in future. This is a system of safeguards inside the ethnic group or kin, a way of securing their resources and preventing economic crises by holding on to extra land. The implementation of REDD may affect the community by preventing local Bugis from possessing ownership to new land. Having this in mind, it is relevant to ask how the REDD projects will integrate into this landscape of so many ethnicities and religions such as in Dampelas? How will REDD distinguish between them? According to REDD, is Rerang a local or indigenous community? Will one ethnic group be defined as indigenous and another will be defined local? I suggest there is an increased chance to create conflicts if REDD is going to distinguish between the social groups (kinship and ethnicities) that are involved, since Rerang for instance; people are bond to each across various ethnicities and kinship.

## Conflicting Understandings of REDD

A comparison with Amri's work in South Sulawesi (2005) illustrates various motives from the different actors involved, and the considerable gap between local people and government respectively, concerning the utilisation, conservation and management of mangrove forests in Tongke Tongke. The local people were interested in the economical benefits, since they wanted to obtain the economical advantages derived from the mangrove lands, such as obtaining firewood and land ownership. On the other hand, the local government wanted to promote environmentally sound programmes by conserving the mangrove forests and protecting the coastal environment. Such polar opposite views can create, and in fact did create, inevitable conflict. This event has a lot of similarity with the REDD process in Sulawesi. In the case of the establishment of a KPH system, it can create a situation where some actors want to protect the forest from human influence, linked to the establishment of a carbon market, while others want the very opposite and are interested in benefits to be obtained from the natural resources. As an important keystone, a complication in the REDD initiative, is the fact that forests are not uninhabited. Indonesia is struggling with defining areas as forest and land in terms of ownership, and has political struggles, between powerful private sector interests, a variety of governmental institutions, and several million people who recognise forest land as home or a source of livelihoods (Wood 2010). The illegal logging also is a present challenge, with large and small groups in Dampelas where even some *kepala desa* allows such activities. What will happen with the poor Bugis in Rerang (see chapter 3) who lives inside the boundaries of KPH forest area? How much influence do the people of Rerang hold facing KPH? As the report made by HuMa (2011) stresses, there is a lot of evidence showing that the REDD project preparation practices are implemented under the assumption that the land and natural resources are controlled by the state. Further, it is arguing that there is a gap between the government's responses and the challenges of people living within and in the surrounding areas of forests.

Based on my observation there was little communication between the REDD facilitator of Central Sulawesi and the leader of KPH Central Sulawesi, even though the leader of KPH is a member of Pokja REDD. The last time I met them together – both of them are commuter-Javanese – travelling from Java to do this assignment – they talked about how foreign companies could invest in KPH areas, to plant rubber trees, as a part of the REDD project. When I asked NGOs why the KPH system would likely be included in REDD, they claimed they did not know, apart from the fact that the Ministry of Forestry of Central Sulawesi presented this at the workshop in December 2010. Clearly, the proposal of KPH was not decided by Pokja REDD, since Pokja REDD was created in

February 2011, which clearly highlights the differences between theory and practice, and shows how interest operates under the surface. Since KPH is a governmental project (Ministry of Forestry), by including it in a REDD schema it is possible to straighten the already existing system, which is not necessarily a negative purpose. REDD enters into areas where there is already intense debate about rights and livelihoods. With 64% of Indonesia classified as forest estate, and several million people living within the estate, there are major conflicts over who has the right to manage and exploit forests resources, and who should enjoy the benefits from these activities (Wood 2010).

### **The Importance of Trust: Memory of the Past**

Ibu: Sara, why do you want to meet KPH again?

Sara: I need to, I want to see and learn how they work.

Ibu: How can you do that if you cannot trust them!

The dialogue above took place one evening in June as the soft and warm evening sun was about to set. I was sitting at the outdoor veranda of my house with Ibu, who came and sat down with me since Pak and I had just arrived from a trip in the neighboring village. I had visited five employers of KPH, who did temporary research in the forest area of Dampelas. Pak and Ibu had sacrificed enough time and effort to provide me to meet KPH. Ibu's reaction reflects confusion over why I still wanted to continue to spend more time with members of KPH since the meeting with them did not go very well. KPH invited me several times to meet them that day, and when I finally arrived, they were not there at the place they told me they would be. By coincidence, I ran into them after driving around the village. Moreover, several plans they made were often changed or cancelled, even though I believe they did try to do a good job. I joined them for two excursions in the forest area, and did catch a glimpse of their seriousness. Pak and Ibu's skepticisms towards KPH was not necessarily because of only what happened that day, but a memory of past experiences that I will examine later in this chapter. The evening on the veranda, I told Ibu I would like to meet KPH again. Ibu's eyes looked skeptical and she asked me how I could trust KPH when they did not even tell where they were located. "You see! They do not work as much as they say", argued Ibu with a stern facial expression. "That's why it's important for me to actually see this; if KPH really do what they say they do", I replied and awaited Ibu's reaction. Instead, she got up, went quietly into the house without looking back.

This event captures several notions of trust and, on the other hand, it shows a lack of confidence. It shows how KPH gives diverse information which makes them unpredictable and untrustworthy. KPH is a governmental system, and therefore the employees are socialized in a governmental practice. I believe that Pak and Ibu did not trust KPH because even though KPH want to improve, they lacked power. As I mentioned in chapter 3, Pak tried to stop the activities with illegal logging, through the local government *kecamatan* and also brought it up with KPH, in the hope that they could bring the case to the Ministry of Forestry of Palu, *kabupaten*. Despite this effort to change the negative patterns of illegal logging, Pak found it provoking to receive no support.

Pak and Ibu tried as much as they could to protect me during my time of living in their home, which made it somewhat challenging being an anthropologist. I suggest this protectiveness may indicate two elements. First, this kindness towards me was generated because of trust, and therefore this case shows that trust develops through processes within time. Another experience related to this is that several villagers told me they were skeptical towards Western lifestyle and behavior; they had a predetermined vision of the “Western” (which I am part of), a vision they probably got through television. However, their prejudices changed over time due to our interaction between. I remember clearly how several “conservative” Muslims in the village admitted their earlier impression of Western persons. The role of Islam in Indonesia has grown since the late 1980s (Barton 2001:244), and there is currently a major trend of wearing the *jilbab*. I could see the changes that had happened in my village by watching six year old wedding videos, where the wearing of *jilbab* was not that extensive. When Ibu was introduced by people I knew, she would ask which religion the person belongs to, if he/she was Muslim or Christian. I introduced Ibu to some Christian Indonesians, and I noticed even though they were welcomed in the house, Ibu was cautious towards them.

The second element is that the protectiveness was a consequence of Sulawesi’s past experience with violence and conflict. And the violence has become an unhappy reminder of the importance of Islam in Indonesian society (Barton 2001). There is a history of intervention, and a memory of the past that reflects a lack of trust. Central Sulawesi has a past with political-religious-ethnic violence in recent years. The most serious conflict occurred between 1999 and 2001 with the heavy involvement of Islamist militias and more than 1,000 people were killed through violence, riots and ethnic cleansing before the Government managed to order a truce. In the following years, the riots erupted again in Christian dominated areas of Central Sulawesi, as well as other parts of Indonesia.

Memory of the past based on experiences of fear and conflicts may affect how people react and rebuild their daily life. *Fear as a Way of Life* by Linda Green (1999) traces the intricate links between the recent political violence and repression in Guatemala, and the long-term systemic violence with connections to class inequalities and gender and ethnic oppression. Green provides illustrations of how to live with fear, focusing on how Maya women are rebuilding their life after a series of experiences with brutal violence and fear. This historical perspective I suggest is crucial for the understanding of how people react to certain contexts, but also how “outsiders” (which in Green’s case is the Government of Guatemala) enters a community and how this can create new forms of patterns of life, for instance how the Maya communities and culture were destroyed (Green 1999). David Henley (2004) has done some similar historical work in Sulawesi, where he traces the relationship and interaction between local communities and colonial power. Henley examines the expansion of the colonial state in North and Central Sulawesi, a region where indigenous attitudes to incorporation into foreign-dominated state systems was often ambivalent and sometimes positive. His argument is that the colonial power's role must be seen in relation to the internal and political conflicts in which, in some cases there are some groups which see it as beneficial to involve a outside power that they could ally themselves with, and in other cases which all groups wanted to get an independent third party to mediate between them. Dutch intervention was considered by many indigenous actors not only a useful aid to realize their individual political and military ambitions, but they also saw the Dutch as an acceptable solution to their broader collective problems of mutual conflict and political instability (2004:131). Henley gives us a further nuanced picture of the past history and also of the “outsider”. On the other hand, illustrates Persoon (2004) that many Indonesians in general are already under a lot of pressure concerning land right and resources. The term "Indonesianization" (2004:36) indicate that local people get more affected by large scale operations, such as the transmigrations program as well as the concessions towards national and international logging and mining companies. As a result local people lose authority of their land, mostly because the government claims authority over these resources.

Several Indonesians I got to know have a history that resulted in a lack of confidence towards the Indonesian government. Could it be that the Indonesian government did not keep their promises towards the people? For example, the big demonstrations in 1998 because of governance failure and that resulted in the President of Indonesia resigning be seen as an example of such frustration. Or the current ability to curb corruption and other associated crimes in Indonesia’s governance. Or what about the diverse developing projects that has tried to improve Indonesia? Li gives a historical overview of the various trends in development projects in Indonesia. Her ethnographic material is

derived from the different communities that are plagued by problems of people not owning land, poverty and social conflicts. Central Sulawesi, for example, has been an area of numerous development projects. The first trend is how the various projects overlap and intersect, producing unexpected and often negative consequences. One example is related to the history of the relocation of some communities in Indonesia. In the earliest stages of development, the Dutch government would resettle villagers from the highlands to the lower hills, to bring them closer to the infrastructure. The settlement proved to be difficult for a number of reasons, ranging from insufficient land to epidemics caused by a lack of immunity to diseases. The government continued the practice of resettlement, despite the challenges, until a new concern about biodiversity emerged. Biodiversity became a national issue and international donors pushed for the establishment of a protected national park. Finally, a park was established, where the villagers were denied access to the land they originally had been moved to and were not allowed to engage in the agricultural methods that they were formerly encouraged to practice, because they were regarded as environmentally unfriendly (Li 2007). The second trend was the way development discussions and definitions transformed the structure of local communities. Development took the attitude that a "traditional" social structure in villages needed to be guided by "experts" from outside. Li points out real examples of how development creates problems and conflicts at the same time as they work to correct the other. Li brings forward a relation she calls "the trustee - ward relationship" described as "The will to empower others hinges upon positioning oneself as an expert with the power to diagnose and correct a deficit of power in someone else" (2007:275). I suggest that the REDD project can learn from previous experiences such as the projects Li has presented. This indicates that REDD should be aware of the power relations and not lose focus of the political and economic structures, and letting local communities take part in the decision-making. On the other hand, the criticism against Li is that she is too critical, not offering any suggestion or solution, or paying attention to structural changes towards improving people's lives.

## **Friction of Collaboration**

At the international level, between nations, international organizations and nations, Eriksen argues that trust and reciprocity are central aspects of transnational processes (2007:1). Further, he argues that reciprocity is a fundamental dimension of life, even though many millions are transnational; they have maintained important ties of obligation across vast distances. Transnational flows tend to be initiated, maintained and routinized through webs of commitment reproduced by reciprocity and

underpinned by a moral community based on cultural or other commonalities (Eriksen 2007). But what happens if some actors do not follow the same character of “webs of commitment”? As West illustrates from her study, how developing projects or as she calls it “conservation-as-development” (2006:7) arrived to rural areas of Papua New Guinea to establish a conservation project. Villagers did not understand what “conservation” is, and conservation planners did not understand what villagers think of when they imagine “development”. Additionally, while villagers thought they were entering into an exchange relationship, conservation planners thought they were entering into a relationship in which villagers would work as a corporate unit, to make money that would be redistributed fairly to individuals and be used to buy commodities and services. This is what I believe lies in Tsing’s term “friction of collaboration” (2005:249): how close collaboration has different stories and facts about the same situation, which also happened in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi. This occurred when the local NGOs entered the local communities to present REDD and they had a different ways of understanding the REDD project. In Rerang, people had another conception of the REDD project, to the forest, and solutions of improvement through development projects. In following lines with West, the Gimi people had another conception of developing project in Papua New Guinea, as throughout the project there was a profound disconnect between the goals of the two parties, and the collaboration resulted in frustrations and disappointments for both parts. Consequently, this may be a reality in Central Sulawesi, where REDD officials, NGOs and local communities have constructed different ideas, as “friction of collaboration” in the REDD landscape.

## **Conclusion**

The thesis has explored the relationships among the involved agents in REDD activities in Central Sulawesi. By following the initial phases of the implementation of the REDD project for five months, I have been able to account for observations that I find valuable as a contribution in a debate around REDD. I have discussed several encounters between actors of different resources, power and interest (Long 1989), for instance how foreign donors active in Indonesia have had a major influence on the position and vision of local NGOs. On the other hand, the international support may also be a “security” for the local NGOs facing the Indonesian government. By having a focus on agency, this created a perspective on position and social hierarchy: Overall, the term partnership between donors and local NGOs fails to address potential conflict and inequalities within the category, although the different partnerships that I have described do try to find solutions to forest destruction and securing local communities’ rights to participate. Finally, I agree with

Lounela that there are many voices in between and within the NGOs and there is no single movement that carries one voice, but instead a chorus of voices that are influenced by the history of Indonesia, international donors and the internal struggle among the NGOs (1999:29).

The multi-sited fieldwork has been useful in seeking out the conflicting understandings of REDD as well as the different interest and motives, which I believed had been difficult achieving without multi-sited fieldwork. It gives the ethnographer opportunity to move between sites and groups of differently situated individuals (West 2006). By paying attention to the non-local people and intuitions that greatly affect the lives and thereby also the future of local communities, in order to understand what actually goes on (Persoon and Perez 2008), I experienced that REDD was a fragile discourse among a small “elite” in the capital city of Central Sulawesi. I observed several cases with evidence of a lack of confidence. This was expressed through how the local NGOs struggled to form relationships with, and to trust, certain local communities. Or the distrust between the local government and NGOs, whereas the activists claim that all the power lies in the government’s hands and that the only thing they could do was to “sit still and wait” for what happened next. On the other hand, multi-sited research has its disadvantages as a master degree program has limited period of fieldwork, which made it challenging for me being at a place longer than I did it, and gave certain limitation on how deep I could go into the various agents in the writing process. Nevertheless, the advantage is that multi-sited research focus on the connection between seemingly “local” sites and “global” or “transnational” processes (West 2006), which in this theme of study was crucial. By focusing on the non-local were significant in order to understand the relationship between the local and non-local in a REDD context. The idea behind REDD, includes a diverse set of actors – government agencies, local, national and international NGOs, bilateral agencies/donors – are engaged in the process of constructing a framework, where REDD will continually be changed and recreated in these engagements. The REDD project will probably affect at several levels within various stakeholders before it is implemented locally. I have throughout my thesis described some of the challenges, such as categorizing and defining indigenous in Indonesia, where even the local NGOs found it difficult to divide people/communities between *lokal* and *adat*. Another challenge lays in the formulating of the policies to implement REDD, where REDD will need to manage with conflicting interests, as well as issues of land tenure and overlapping policies and laws.

The thesis has illustrated that the people of Central Sulawesi have experienced religious, political and ethnic tensions that are part of their memory. The REDD project is encountering a multicultural society, a mix of ethnicities, religion and political tension. There is a vulnerability in Sulawesi I



suggest REDD and the government must recognize and not be “forgotten” by those who are creating the foundation of REDD in Indonesia. The vulnerability is the complexity and variety of Indonesia society, both the large size of its population and the environment. Keeping this in mind, the establishment of the REDD program had the original idea of saving the forests in developing countries and making it financially worthwhile to leave forests standing. Nevertheless, the focus on trees has transformed into discourses of safeguards, human rights and informed consent. REDD was seen by the global leaders as a win-win situation in the international negotiation level (Stern 2006). To what extend REDD will occur further remains open.

The trip to Salua with Jonathan which I presented at the beginning of chapter 1, capture a social interface between REDD representatives and a local community. The case illustrates the huge gap between those who give input to the REDD project or are in the position of forming REDD, versus the local community in general, but also those local communities that will be affected by the project. The story about Jonathan is an indicator of how important a prolonged ethnographic fieldwork is to achieve understanding of local livelihoods as well as it is crucial to earn trust among those you interact with. I believe Jonathan got the answers he wanted and only saw the “front stage” (Goffman 1959) of the villagers. Even though Jonathan did this with good intentions I suggest as Li points out, that he did not reflect on his position (2007) nor did he understand how he put the villagers in an inferior role. Yet, the trip to Salua was a step towards improving the system of reaching out to the local community and hearing out their opinions. The meeting in Salua as well as other encounters in REDD activities, as I have illustrated, is an indication of global interconnection, where through their meeting they mirror each other and at the same time, they constitute and reshape each other through their encounters. In Tsing’s lines, it is “as the creek flows, it makes and remakes its channels”, and “all swarming alongside creeks and earthworms to compose the landscape, to define its elements, carve its channels of flow, and establish its units of historical agency” (2002:453).

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